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The Assyrian Sculptures

by

C. J. GADD, M.A., F.S.A.,

Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egyptian
and Assyrian Antiquities.

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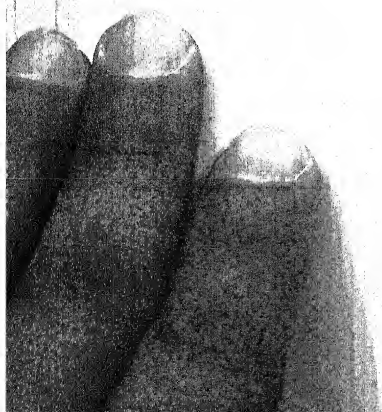
PREFACE.

THIS description of the Assyrian reliefs in the British Museum has been written by Mr. C. J. Gadd, M.A., F.S.A., for use by students and visitors. It is intended to give a brief account of the discovery of the slabs, the development of Assyrian art, and some explanation of the content and meaning of the scenes. The index of sculptures by galleries on page 77 will enable the visitor, on reference to the king's name in the list on pages 54-76; to use this monograph in the Museum.

SIDNEY SMITH.

DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN
AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES.

February 24th, 1934.



THE ASSYRIAN SCULPTURES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

DISCOVERY OF THE ASSYRIAN SCULPTURES.

WHILE the European world has for many centuries been acquainted with the sculpture of the Greeks and Romans, and even to some extent with that of Egypt, up to the middle of the nineteenth century hardly anything of the kind was known that could be ascribed to the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, the memory of whose civilization had, indeed, passed away almost entirely. Nineveh had been destroyed in the year 612 B.C., too early for any tradition of its palaces to have reached the Greek writers of the classical age, who knew at the most only a little of the Persian empire, the successor of Assyria. There remained, however, in a remote corner of the Greek world a memory of the Assyrian kingdom at its most splendid height in the year 696 B.C., when the generals of Sennacherib had defeated a local rising in Cilicia, and Greeks had fought with the rebels against the Assyrian army. After his victory this king set up a memorial stele with a figure of himself, and an inscription commemorating his achievements, and this seems to have long survived, for it was mentioned as one of the sights of the town of Anchiale by Strabo,¹ whose authority describes it as the monument of Sardanapallus, "a stone figure closing the fingers of his right hand as if snapping them"; there was an inscription upon it in Assyrian letters which was said to end with the words, "Eat, drink, and sport, for all the rest isn't worth this (snap of the fingers)." The stele of Anchiale has perished, but the fine monument of Ashur-našir-pal (118805) in the Assyrian Transept of the British Museum, will show very exactly how it appeared, although it may be assumed with certainty that the inscription did not convey the unedifying sentiment reported.

After the conquest of Asia by Alexander the Great, the

¹ Strabo, Book XIV, ch. v, 9.



Greeks became better acquainted with Persia, and there are a few descriptions by Hellenistic authors of the ancient Persian monuments, particularly a fabulous, though recognizable, account in Diodorus (Book II, 13) of the celebrated rock-sculpture of Darius at Behistun. Although Roman armies sometimes reached the Tigris, and Roman remains have been found on the very site of Nineveh, no trace was then visible of the ancient glory of Assyria, and during the Middle Ages all knowledge of the eastern lands was lost in Europe, while the learned men of Islam were hardly better informed about the past history of the countries which their religion had conquered.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century Persia became more open to European diplomacy and commerce, and a succession of travellers began to visit not only Persia itself, but the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates. These men, of diverse professions and interests, often wrote accounts of their journeys, and described with particular admiration, both by word and pencil, the ruins of Persepolis, and the sculptures there, as well as at Naqsh-i-Rustam, Behistun, and other celebrated sites. The monuments of the old Persian empire were inspired particularly by the art of Assyria, and thus the eyes of Europe were to some degree prepared for the revelation of the Assyrian sculptures long before these actually appeared. Meanwhile, the trilingual inscriptions of the Persian kings had already engaged the attention of scholars, and a good deal of progress had been made in deciphering them before the ancient Assyrian cities began to yield up from their ruins their hidden treasures of art and literature.

It seems likely that the first European to have definite news of an Assyrian sculptured slab was Claudius James Rich, who was appointed as British Resident and Consul-General at Baghdad in 1807. He began exploring and collecting antiquities in the neighbourhood of Babylon, but later, upon visiting Moṣul, his interest was aroused by the great mounds which lie opposite that town on the other bank of the Tigris, called Kuyûnjik and Nabi Yûnis. These cover the ruins of Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, though the unbroken tradition which identified this place was often ignored by the early explorers, who were fond of claiming the name of "Nineveh"



Colossal winged and human-headed bull, with human attendant, guardians of a doorway in the palace of Sargon II, King of Assyria, 722-705 B.C., at Dûr-Sharrukîn (Khorsabad).

without any warrant for the place in which they had chanced to make their discoveries. Rich was informed that many sculptured stones had been found by the natives in Nabi Yûnis when digging the foundations for houses. Many had been destroyed, but he was shown others used in the walls of cellars, though he did not obtain any of these to add to his small collection of Babylonian antiquities.

It was, however, the publication of Rich's memoirs which led to the great discoveries of Assyrian remains. Under the influence of Orientalists who grasped the significance of what Rich had seen, the French Government appointed a Vice-Consul at Moşul, with the intention that he should devote himself mainly to the exploration of antiquities. To this post, therefore, was sent Paul Emile Botta, soon to become famous as the first discoverer of an Assyrian palace, the man to whom are owed most of the fine Assyrian slabs which are now exhibited in the Louvre. Yet Botta's first attempts on the great mound of Kuyûnjik were disappointing, and he found only unimportant fragments. After a few weeks, therefore, in consequence of chance discoveries by the local inhabitants, he transferred his work to the village of Khorsabad, about ten miles distant, in the spring of 1843, and very quickly lighted upon the ruins of a magnificent Assyrian palace, the halls of which were lined with sculptured slabs and the doors guarded by great winged and human-headed bulls, such as the two magnificent specimens (see pl. I) which stand on either side of the east bay of the Assyrian Transept. These were obtained by Sir H. C. Rawlinson from the French Vice-Consul at Moşul in 1849, and, together with the other slabs in this bay, are all that the British Museum possesses of the sculptures of Khorsabad, which date from the reign of Sargon II, king of Assyria (722-705 B.C.).

Austen Henry Layard, to whom the British Museum is almost as much indebted for its Assyrian sculptures as the Louvre is to Botta, first visited Moşul in 1840, and was attracted by the great mounds which lie opposite to the town. The curiosity aroused by these also led him to the mounds of Nimrûd and Kâl'ah Sharkat, and at that time he determined to explore all of these whenever the opportunity occurred. He next visited Moşul in 1842, and was there while Botta was

unsuccessfully digging at ẖuyûnjik. In correspondence with Botta, Layard recommended him to turn his attention to Nimrûd; this he was unable to do, but meanwhile Khorsabad was discovered, and Botta devoted himself entirely to that work. In the midst of various diplomatic duties entrusted to him by Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador in Constantinople, Layard did not forget his earlier project, and he attempted for some time in vain to obtain support. At last in 1845 Sir Stratford Canning generously offered to meet the cost of a preliminary campaign, and Layard set out at once for Moşul. It is not necessary here to relate the difficulties and obstructions which he had to overcome, and the interruptions of his work which prudence or necessity demanded. But he began excavating at Nimrûd, secretly at first, and at once discovered sculptured slabs and inscriptions. At the end of 1845 he procured, through Sir Stratford Canning, a Turkish permit to continue the work, and to take away the objects discovered. The excavation of Nimrûd now proceeded with little hindrance, and went on through 1846 and a part of 1847, during which time Layard also began digging at ẖuyûnjik; it should be remembered, however, that Layard supposed at this time that Nimrûd was the true site of Nineveh, and he had great difficulty in reconciling this belief with the correct tradition that it was the mounds opposite to Moşul which really marked the place of the Assyrian capital. At the same time Botta was inclined to think that he had found Nineveh at Khorsabad, the ancient name of which was, in fact, Dûr-Sharrukîn (*i.e.* Sargon's Burgh). Nimrûd was soon found to be the ruins of Kalkhu (Calah), which was the capital city during certain periods of Assyrian history.

The excavation of Nimrûd was continued by Layard, with the help of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, in 1849 and 1850, by Rassam alone in 1852-4, by Mr. George Smith in 1873, and by Rassam again in 1878. The most striking results of their labours are now to be seen in the west bay of the Assyrian Transept, in the Nimrûd Gallery, and in the Nimrûd Central Saloon of the British Museum. The sculptures there displayed are chiefly the carved slabs of limestone which lined the walls of Assyrian palaces, but also figures of great human-headed lions and bulls which guarded the doorways, as well as round-

topped stelæ, representing the king in an act of worship, statues of gods and the king, and obelisks sculptured with martial or religious pictures on the four sides. These are mostly derived from the three principal buildings which Nimrûd was found to contain, namely, the North-west Palace, built by Ashur-naşir-pal II (883-859 B.C.), and partly reconstructed by Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) ; the Centre Palace, built by Shalmaneser III, son of Ashur-naşir-pal, and re-built by Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.) ; and the South-west Palace, which was in course of construction by Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.), but never finished ; for its decoration he removed older slabs from the North-west and Centre Palaces, and, turning them with their face to the wall, intended to re-carve them on the back. It is from the North-west Palace that by far the most numerous and best-preserved of these sculptures are derived, since this building had suffered comparatively little from destruction and disturbance ; the fine bold style of Ashur-naşir-pal in the Nimrûd Gallery is easily distinguished from the later manner of Tiglath-pileser's reliefs in the Nimrûd Central Saloon, and in the vestibule of the Assyrian Saloon.

Most of the remaining sculptured slabs exhibited in the Kuyûnjiĭk Gallery and the Assyrian Saloon and Basement are from Kuyûnjiĭk, the great mound opposite Moşul, which is the actual site of Nineveh, the Assyrian capital. It has already been mentioned that Botta made his first excavation here, with such poor results that he quickly transferred himself to Khorsabad. In 1846, while he was more particularly engaged in Nimrûd, Layard had caused a few trenches to be dug at Kuyûnjiĭk, without making any considerable discovery, but upon the conclusion of his work at Nimrûd, in 1847, he devoted the remainder of his available funds to a more systematic examination of the mound, digging in the south-west corner, which seemed to promise best. Here he soon came upon chambers with slab-lined walls and winged bulls at the doors, the remains of the great Palace of Sennacherib. In this first campaign very little was found that could be removed, but in 1849 Layard and Rassam re-opened their excavations in the Palace of Sennacherib, and proceeded to clear the walls of more than seventy rooms lined with sculptured slabs, most of

which had unfortunately suffered so much from the fire which had consumed the palace when Nineveh fell in 612 B.C., that they could not be removed. Nevertheless, the Kuyûnjiḳ Gallery is lined with slabs obtained from Sennacherib's Palace between 1849 and 1851: they are sculptured with scenes of battle and sieges, processions of servants and horses, and incidents from the building of the palace itself. The six slabs of Ashur-bani-pal (668-626 B.C.), showing his victory over the Elamite king Te-umman, were re-used slabs of Sennacherib, and found in his palace. They stood in a hall hard by the smaller room, which was lined with the series depicting the siege of Lachish, now in the Assyrian Saloon.

Only one other great discovery remains to be mentioned in order to account for most of the Assyrian sculptures now in the British Museum. The walls of the gallery which leads round the Assyrian Saloon, overlooking the Basement, are occupied by the famous hunting-scenes of Ashur-bani-pal, which have been generally considered the supreme achievement of Assyrian artists. They were found, with other subjects now in the Basement, by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam in 1853 and 1854, when he revealed a second great palace at Kuyûnjiḳ in the northern part of the mound; this had been built by Ashur-bani-pal. Both Botta and Layard had for some reason failed to light upon this ruin, but Rassam had long suspected its existence, and when he found himself in charge of the excavations he resolved to put his supposition to the test. Circumstances obliged him to work secretly at first, but on the third night his workmen came upon the first of the hunting slabs (appropriately, those in which the king is seen preparing for the chase), and he had soon cleared out the room and revealed the whole series. Even the sculptures were only a half of the treasure which this one space contained, for upon the floor were found several thousands of clay tablets, remains of the great library formed by Ashur-bani-pal, another portion of which had already been found by Layard in the south-west palace. The exploration of the newly-discovered building went on through the early months of 1854, and many more slabs were found, both by Rassam and by Messrs. Loftus and Boutcher, who continued the work for a time. The next year, however, marked the end of the great finds of sculpture which had been

begun by Botta at Khorsabad in 1843, and since that time there have been no comparable discoveries. By far the greatest part of all the Assyrian sculpture known to the modern world was thus brought to light in one decade in the middle of the last century.

HISTORY OF ASSYRIAN SCULPTURE.

The city of Ashur, which is marked by the mound now called Kal'ah Sharḳat, is first mentioned in history during the reign of Shulgi, king of Ur, which may be dated about 2250 B.C., and it was then ruled by a governor bearing a Semitic name. It is certain, however, that this city was an important place considerably before that time, for the German expedition which explored its site between 1903 and 1913 found remains of earlier periods there. Not the least interesting of these were certain stone figures of men and women, portrayed in a style which shows not only that they belong to the "pre-Sargonic" period, perhaps about 2800 B.C., but that the people in question were at any rate closely allied to the Sumerians, the early non-Semitic race, whose chief centres lay in southern Babylonia, where they were the originators of the great civilization which the later Babylonians and Assyrians inherited. The statuettes from Ashur show standing and seated figures which, in spite of local peculiarities, especially in the styles of hairdressing, have the characteristics of Sumerian sculpture, and, in particular, are clothed in garments of fleece, shaped and depicted according to the Sumerian convention. There is, consequently, nothing about these figures which can be considered essentially Assyrian, and they do not call for further notice here. The same may be said of a headless figure found also at Ashur, which is completely in the later Sumerian style as to attitude and dress, and thus may belong to about the period when the first mention of the city is found, as related above.

The influences which went to the making up of an art which can be recognized as distinctively Assyrian are not easily defined, but it is certain that they operated during the centuries about the middle of the second millennium before Christ. At this time Babylonia was under the rule of an originally barbarous people, the Kassites, and very little is known of its history during the six centuries of their supremacy. Even

more is this true of Assyria, which ceased at this time to be a dependency of Babylonian kings, and was much under the influence of Mitanni, a kingdom centred in northern Mesopotamia, which was itself in close connexion, often hostile, with the Hittites of Asia Minor. During these obscure centuries Assyria was strongly affected by artistic impulses from the west, especially Syria, where there had grown up an art which, arising at the central point between several more ancient civilizations, borrowed its elements alike from Sumer, Egypt, the Ægean area, and Asia Minor. At the end of her period of political weakness and dependence Assyria emerged, about the fourteenth century B.C., as one of the great powers of Western Asia, with a national artistic style already formed and henceforth unmistakable. This may best be analysed as a mixture of the ancient traditions of Sumerian art, in which the infancy of Assyria had been nourished, with a more cosmopolitan style acquired from the western connexions which had marked the formative period of the nation.

Sculptured monuments are found roughly in three periods between the fourteenth and the seventh centuries, although, of course, isolated examples appear in the intervals. The first period is identified with two great kings, Tukulti-Enurta I (about 1250-1220 B.C.) and Tiglath-pileser I (about 1100-1070 B.C.). The former is at present represented only by two stone pedestals, shaped like the one (118870) in the Assyrian Transept, West, with sculptured scenes on their fronts. One of these, now in Constantinople, shows the king in the regular Assyrian dress and posture of prayer, standing between two symbolic posts which are supported by priests or mythological figures; he offers worship to a star-emblem which rests not only upon the posts but upon the heads of the attendants. Underneath, on the base of the altar, is a line of men marching over rocky country and apparently carrying or hauling on a rope. The other, now in Berlin, has on the front a highly-interesting relief, showing the king in two postures adoring a cult object set upon a pedestal like the object itself. Much ampler material for studying the art of Tukulti-Enurta's reign is contained in the wall-paintings of his ephemeral capital, but these, besides being for the most part unpublished, are not strictly to the present purpose. Under so energetic and power-

ful a ruler as Tiglath-pileser I, it is natural to suppose that the arts flourished, but his period is represented only by the "Broken Obelisk" (118898) in the Nimrûd Central Saloon, and even this monument, although its text may refer to his reign, almost certainly does not itself belong to that reign. The sculptured scene, despite its partial mutilation, is of great interest because of the divine hands which appear out of the sun-disk, one blessing the king and the other extending to him a bow in token of the god's help in battle against his enemies. Four of these are standing before the king who holds them by ropes tied to rings through their noses, as does Esarhaddon on a stele now in Berlin, where the rings are passed through the lower lips of the captives, a punishment which is symbolically denounced by the prophet against the Assyrian invader of Jerusalem, "therefore will I put my hook in thy nose and my bridle in thy lips."¹

From the interval between Tiglath-pileser and Ashur-naşir-pal II, who represents the second flourishing period of Assyrian art, there are few monuments extant. One is the mutilated statue (124963) of a naked goddess, without head, feet, or fore-arms, now in the Assyrian Room. This, the earliest surviving example of purely Assyrian sculpture in the full round, was dedicated by Ashur-bêl-kala, the son of Tiglath-pileser. In its present condition it is not impressive as a work of art. Mutilation has also impaired the interest of the only other considerable work which is attributed to this intermediate period, the tall stone obelisk (118807) which stands in the Assyrian Transept. Found at Kuyûnjik by Mr. Rassam in 1853, this monument has eight bands of small sculptures which run continuously round the four sides, not interrupted by margins as in the more celebrated Black Obelisk. Here, too, the scenes are more varied, though in some places almost obliterated, but incidents of warfare in the field and over rocky ground, the siege of cities, the presentation of captives and spoil, sacrifice, transport of stone, and apparently hunting, are all depicted. There can be no doubt that this is a royal monument, and, owing to the occurrence upon it of the name of Ashur-naşir-pal, it has generally been attributed to the ninth-century king whose splendid wall-sculptures fill the

¹ Isaiah xxxvii, 29, II Kings, xix, 28, and also Ezekiel xxxviii, 4.

Nimrūd Gallery. But the style is in some respects different from that of the better-known examples, and, moreover, there are certain places alluded to in the fragmentary inscription which are not found in the annals of Ashur-naṣir-pal II. In consequence of this it has recently been proposed to attribute this obelisk to Ashur-naṣir-pal I, a king who reigned about the middle of the eleventh century. It must be observed, however, that the name of Ashur-naṣir-pal on this monument occurs only as that of the eponym-official in a certain year, not in conjunction with his titles and genealogy, and therefore his identity cannot be certainly ascertained.

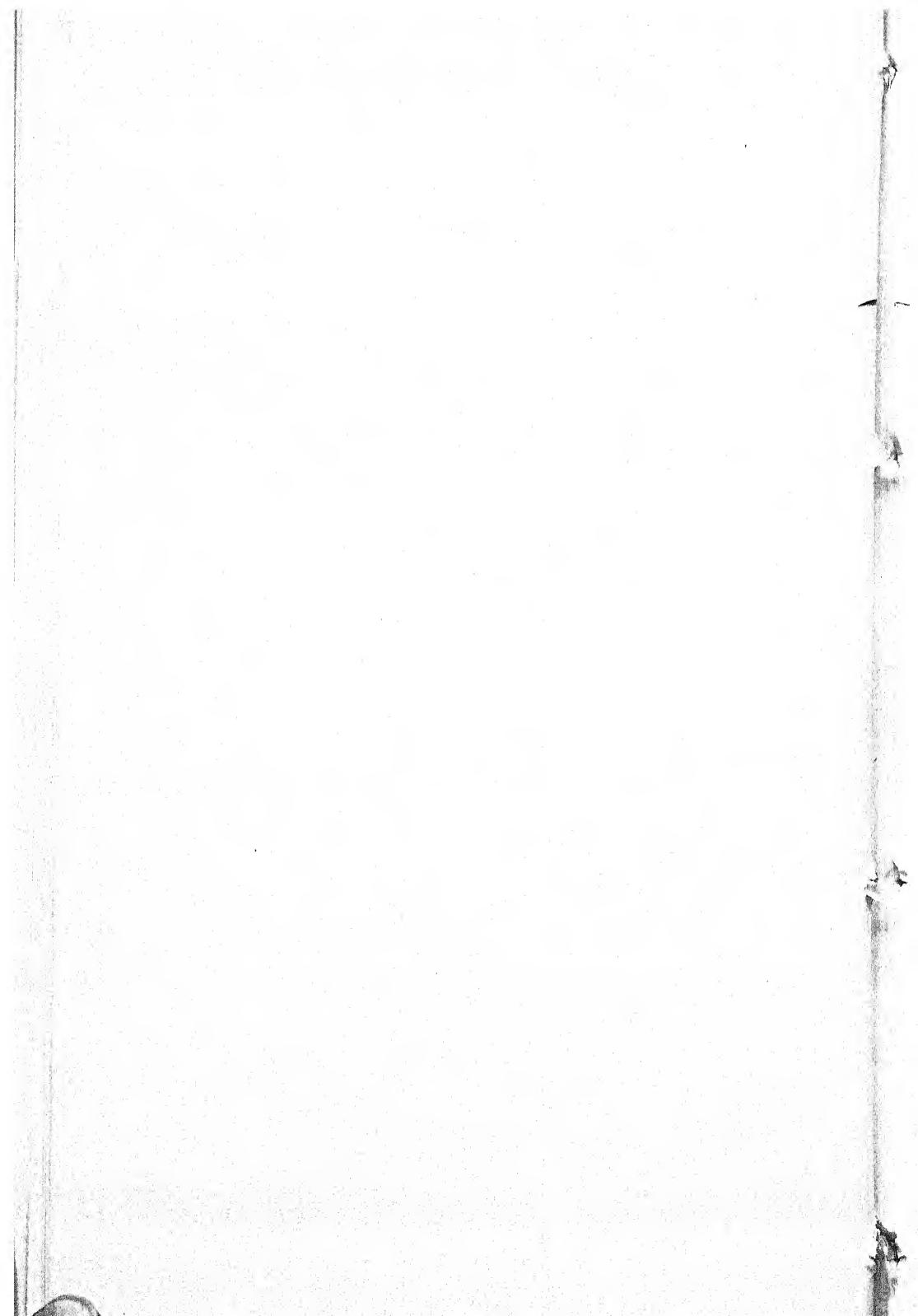
Corresponding with a decline in the power of Assyria, the carving of decorations for palaces and temples declined or ceased until the ninth century B.C., the second of the great ages of Assyrian art, which is associated particularly with the name of Ashur-naṣir-pal II. Nevertheless, the splendid productions of his sculptors, of which the British Museum possesses most of the extant examples, were not an entirely new creation, springing out of nothing, in spite of their many characteristic details and the force and mastery of the whole. The Assyrian style had emerged, fixed in its general lines, several centuries before, and there is evidence that wall-decorations, with scenes of the usual warlike or ceremonial kind, were executed in the less costly medium of painting in places or circumstances where stone sculpture was too elaborate. Tukulti-Enurta II, the immediate predecessor of Ashur-naṣir-pal, had a palace in the city of Ashur which was ornamented with brightly-painted bricks, composing whole scenes, some of which (*e.g.*, Nos. 115705, 115706) are in the Assyrian Room; their colours have sadly faded, but the design and general effect may still be judged. It was, however, the resolve of Ashur-naṣir-pal II (883-859 B.C.) to move his capital to the city of Kalḫu or Calah (Nimrūd), and to build himself a palace there that gave both the occasion and the inspiration for the display of artistic powers never before attained, and in their own qualities never surpassed, in the history of Assyria. The glory of his reign is the great series of sculptured slabs found in the ruins of his palace, and now preserved for the greater part in the British Museum. Ashur-naṣir-pal's successor, Shalmaneser III, was an equally powerful ruler, to whom are due the celebrated



The "Black Obelisk," inscribed with an account of the campaigns of Shalmaneser III, King of Assyria, 859-824 B.C. The sculptured scenes illustrate the bringing of tribute by conquered princes; the second panel from the top shows "Jehu, the son of Omri."

[Nimrûd Central Saloon, 118835.]

(See pp. 11, 17, 20, 61.)



Black Obelisk (pl. II), the headless seated figure (118886), and the stele (118884) of rather rough workmanship from Kurkh, as well as the bronze gate-bands from Balâwât (see pl. VII, X), but he is represented by no such fine sculptures as his father's, and the style of the reliefs on the Black Obelisk might suggest that the artists of his reign were no match for those of the generation before.

About three-quarters of a century elapsed between the close of this second period and the beginning of the latest and most magnificent age of Assyrian attainment, both politically and in the arts, of which again sculpture is the most abiding witness. Among the few extant monuments belonging to this interval the stele of Shamshi-Adad V (118892 in the Nimrûd Central Saloon) is by far the most accomplished, and still displays the mastery of the great Nimrûd sculptures; this king was the grandson of Ashur-naşir-pal, and husband of the lady Sammu-ramat, the original of that Semiramis about whom so many wonderful stories were current in the ancient east, and have been transmitted by classical authors. She was, in fact, a leading personality of her time, and actually ruled Assyria as regent during the first three years of her son's reign. How important her position was is shown by the inscription on the two statues of the god Nabu, which now stand in the Nimrûd Central Saloon. These were found with two others in one room at Nimrûd, and prove to have been set up by Bêl-tarşiluma, governor of the city, early in the reign of Adad-nirari III, the son of Sammu-ramat. The inscription prays for the life of Adad-nirari and of "Sammu-ramat, the lady of the palace," who thus appears to have been at least as influential as her reigning son. The statues themselves are clumsy and lifeless in effect, and show, together with the one or two other monuments of this time, that the arts had temporarily receded in unison with the political fortunes of Assyria.

The restoration of the Assyrian state, and new triumphs of artistic achievement, were inaugurated by Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.), and from his reign until shortly before the final ruin of the empire, about a century in all, sculptured monuments are extant which, although the respective kings are unequally represented, show in general an increasing mastery of execution. This is the third and final great period of

Assyrian sculpture, which reached its height under Sargon and his three successors, and, though cut short in its full development by the destruction of Assyria itself, lived on in the powerful influence it exercised over the imperial art of the Persian kings. With the exception of Sargon, whose Khorsabad sculptures are mainly in the Louvre, the monuments of all these latest kings are for the greatest part now in the British Museum, where they occupy the Kuyûnjiḳ Gallery, the Assyrian Saloon and Basement, part of the Nimrûd Central Saloon, and the eastern side of the Assyrian Transept.

THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF MONUMENTS AND THEIR USES.

Besides the slabs sculptured with figures in low relief, which are the most familiar of Assyrian monuments, mention has already been made of the monstrous bulls and lions, statues of gods and kings, obelisks, and stelæ, to which may be added pavement-slabs, either inscribed with the name and achievements of the royal builders, or sometimes carved to represent a carpet, like those on the walls at the north end of the Assyrian Saloon Gallery. Owing to the thickness of the crude-brick walls, the doorways from one chamber to another were of considerable length and width also, yet the flooring was often composed of a single inscribed slab of great size. In other instances the doorways were paved with slabs sculptured and originally coloured to represent a carpet, perhaps so that the closing of the doors might not be impeded by the actual carpets, which no doubt covered the floor of the grander chambers. How such slabs were shaped to fit into their place may be seen on the large example which hangs on the north wall of the Assyrian Basement, the lower left corner of which is shaped to accommodate the door-post, while 118924, an inscribed slab also in the Basement, not only has a rebate for the door-post on the right side, but also has in the middle of the top edge a hole to receive the bolts of the double doors which must have closed this entrance. The designs upon the carpet-slabs are of much interest, not only for themselves, but as proving the early origin of the oriental carpet-industry. The principal feature of the patterns is the border of lotus, alternate flowers and buds, enclosing a frame set with daisies, which in turn bounds either (118913) the central area, made up

PLATE III.



Colossal lion with an inscription of Ashur-našir-pal II, King of Assyria, 883-859 B.C. From the entrance to the temple of the goddess Bêlit-mâti at Calah (Nimrûd).

of a most ingenious interlacing design of sexfoils, or (118910) another border of palmettes and another daisy-studded frame around the central pattern.

Most imposing of all Assyrian sculptures are the colossal and fantastically-shaped figures of bulls and lions, which, as is generally known, stood at the sides of doorways in the palaces and temples. Generally there was only a single pair, but at very elaborate entrances more were formed into a group; for example, the grand entrance to the palace at Khorsabad was guarded not only by two monstrous bulls which stood beside the actual jambs of the door, but by two smaller ones on each side arranged along the front wall, and placed back to back, their faces turned outwards towards the spectator. These pairs of bulls were divided by a gigantic human figure clutching a young lion under one arm, and holding a curved throwing-stick in the other; there is no specimen of this figure in the British Museum, for it has been found complete only at Khorsabad. The bulls and other monsters, though they stood as the jambs of doorways, were not architecturally members of the doorway, for it is clear that they were not conceived as supporting the jambs, their signification being wholly religious, as will be seen later. It should be noticed that there are various species of these monsters. The commonest is the "winged bull," exemplified by the two great bulls from Khorsabad (Assyrian Transept, see pl. I), and the bull of Ashur-naṣir-pal in the Nimrūd Central Saloon. Another kind is the "winged lion" (pl. XV), exemplified by the pair which face the Khorsabad bulls, and yet another is the lion proper, one of which (pl. III) is in the Nimrūd Central Saloon. No further description is needed of the last, which is simply the figure of a lion exaggerated in size, strength, and ferocity, but of the other two types it will readily be observed that the designations of "winged bull" and "winged lion" are very inadequate. The "bull" is the most complex, for he is, in fact, a composite of no less than four creatures: a bull as to his general structure, a man in head and face except for the taurine ears which wear ear-rings, an eagle as to his wings and breast-feathers, and a lion by the curly hair which grows on his breast, flanks and hindquarters. The "winged lion" is the same, with the abstraction of the bull element: he has human ears, again with

ear-rings, and around his loins is a broad band of several strands tied in some complicated knot which leaves the tasselled ends hanging towards the back. In the tuft of hair at the end of the tail, particularly on No. 118873 in the Nimrûd Central Saloon, can be seen the representation of a "claw," which shows even more clearly in the lion-hunt scene, Nimrûd Gallery 4A; this feature is said to be of actual occurrence in lions, and was thought to heighten the infuriating effect of lashing with the tail. There was also another type of monster found at Nimrûd, no specimen of which is preserved, but it can be seen on a relief in the Assyrian Saloon, 118912, in the lower register. This might be called a lion-centaur, for it has the human torso and arms, as well as the head, added to the lion body. A pair of these stood in a doorway at Nimrûd; one held in its arms a goat, as for sacrifice, like the figure in the Nimrûd Gallery (18), the other had its hands clasped. The last feature that needs to be observed is that these colossi have five legs. Being designed to stand in doorways, they were seen only from the front or from one side, and this device was used to make them appear complete from both points of view, though there is the difference that, whereas from the front they seem to be at rest, from the side they are striding, though with an unnatural conjunction of the legs. The fact that this excess of members is frequently not noticed even by ordinarily attentive observers is a witness to the success of an odd artistic convention.

In all of these figures there is an obvious intention of combining the forces of all the predominant creatures, so that they might be the more powerful to resist those adversaries whom it was their function to dispel from the places which they guarded. The object of placing these monsters at every entrance was, in short, to secure it against the entrance of evil influences, personified as demons of much the same fantastic aspect as the watchers themselves. Thus in the celebrated reliefs (Nos. 28, 29) in the Nimrûd Gallery can be seen a divine figure armed with thunderbolts in each hand, putting to flight a fury of hideous aspect but of a like mixed nature with the winged bulls and lions. These latter, indeed, were but the good spirits which were held to co-exist with, but directly to oppose, the bad spirits of their own kind. The common names for all

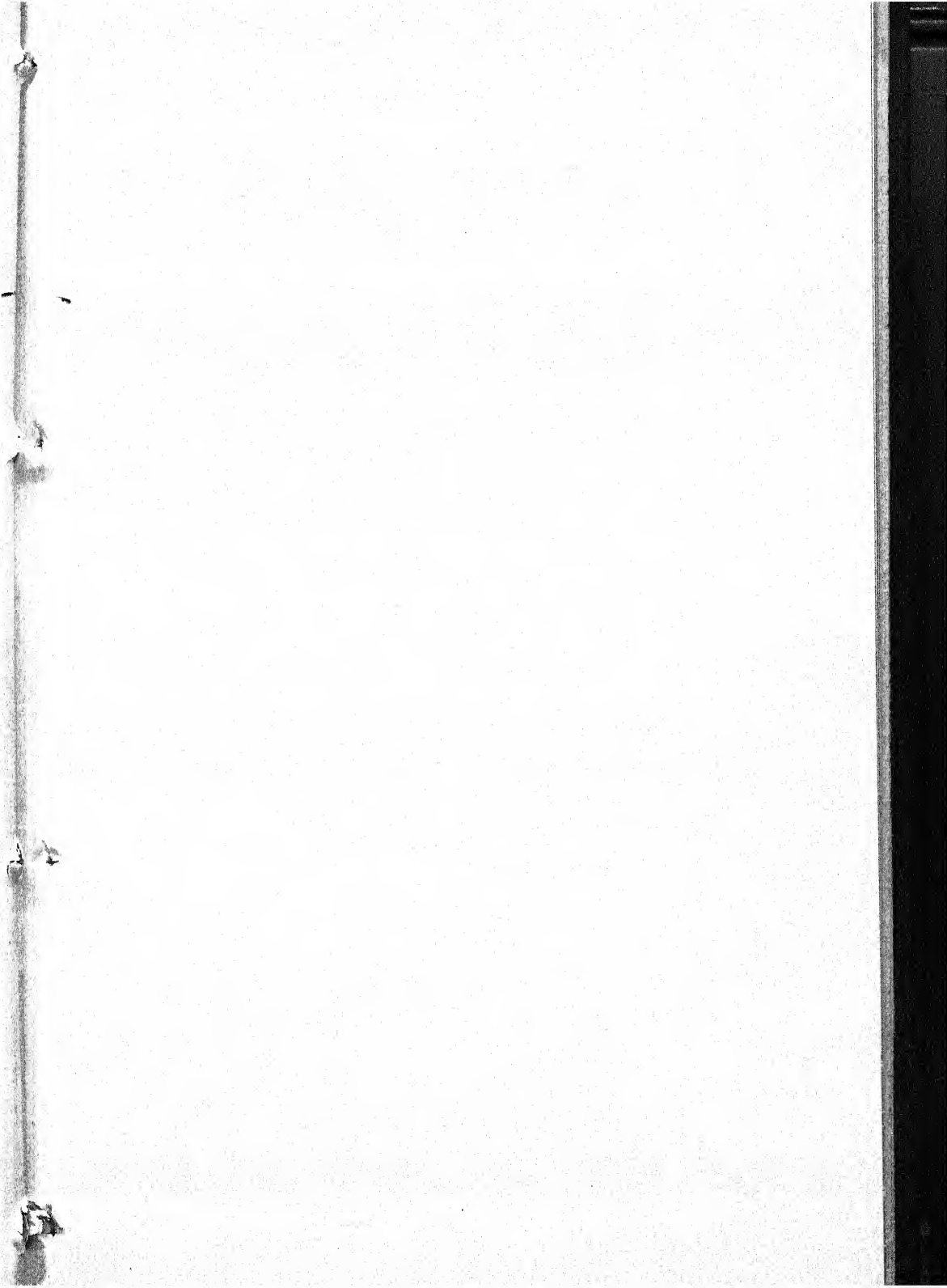


PLATE IV.



Statue of Ashur-naṣir-pal II, King of Assyria from 883 to 859 B.C.

[Nimrūd Central Saloon, 118871.]

(See pp. 15, 17, 21, 60.)

were *shedu* and *lamassu*; the texts refer explicitly to "good *shedu*" and "bad *shedu*" respectively, though it seems probable that only good *lamassu* existed. Even if this was so, the good spirits had no lack of objects for their vigilance, for there were many other companies of devils, all evilly-disposed, which were ever on the watch to intrude themselves by force or cunning into the haunts of men, where, once having gained entrance, they would wreak all sorts of mischief. The good spirits, on the other hand, were benevolently disposed towards mankind, and their aid was not limited to the negative service of averting the incursion of fiends, but they also acted as intercessors for men in the presence of the great gods. Thus it will be observed that the winged bulls and lions, while their bodies are of the most powerful and awe-inspiring form that imagination could give them, have in their faces not inaptly expressed a mien at once dignified and kindly. The intention of the royal makers of these images is well expressed by Esarhaddon, who, concluding his account of his new palace at Nineveh, prays that "in that palace the good *shedu* and the good *lamassu*, who guard my royal footsteps and gladden my liver, may ever be mighty and not depart from its sides."

There is rather more difficulty in defining the purpose of the obelisks, stelæ and statues, which may be considered together. It is evident that these served primarily as monuments of the might and majesty of the king, for they commonly contain not only pictorial representations of the king and of his triumphant achievements, but also inscriptions recording the same. The statues and stelæ, however, had also a religious and even a political significance. The two statues of the god Nabu, and the early torso of the goddess Ishtar, actually represent divinities, and were naturally the objects of worship, but similarly the statue of Ashur-naṣir-pal (pl. IV) was the occupant of a niche in a small temple at Nimrūd, and also it bears in the right hand a weapon which is normally carried by gods alone. In the inscription upon a seated figure of Shalmaneser III it is said that this was set up at one of the gateways in the city of Ashur, in which situation it is at least probable that the passers-by were expected and, if necessary, compelled to do obeisance to it. Evidence of worship offered before the stelæ carved with the king's effigy is even more clear. The stele of

Ashur-naṣir-pal in the Assyrian Transept stood near the entrance to a temple accompanied by the three-legged altar which still stands before it. On a relief in the Assyrian Basement (I24939) can be seen a stele set up beside a small building which crowns a well-wooded and watered slope, and on a path leading up to the stele stands a crenellated altar. Scenes of sacrifice before royal stelæ are also to be found on the Bronze Gates of Shalmaneser. The obligation to do appropriate honour to these monuments became a matter of politics when they were set up, as the inscriptions frequently relate, inside and at the entrance of a newly-conquered city, where any defacement of the image or the cessation of the prescribed observances in its honour was an overt act of rebellion.

It cannot, however, be inferred from this that the Assyrian kings exacted worship of themselves as gods, either from their own citizens or from conquered foreigners. On the stelæ it is noteworthy that the king himself is always depicted in an act of worship. He holds out his right arm, making a peculiar gesture with the fingers, towards a number of divine symbols ; this is the gesture which the Greeks, as mentioned before, thought to be a snapping of the fingers. The king would certainly not be so represented if the stele itself was to be the object of worship. The fact seems rather to be that such monuments were at once a visible symbol of sovereignty and, when placed in temples (as they sometimes were, both at home and abroad), were intended to associate the king in every act of worship there performed, both as the earthly representative of the gods, and as participant in every favour they might vouchsafe to grant. Such an association of the overlord in the worship of subjects is well illustrated by an action of Esarhaddon who, being besought by an Arabian chief to give back his tribal gods which had been carried off by Sennacherib, granted the request while asserting his authority : "I repaired (he says) the damage done to those gods, inscribed upon them the might of Ashur my lord and the writing of my own name, and gave them back to him." Henceforth, then, every time these gods were adored it was intended that glory and submission should be rendered to Ashur as god of the overlord, and so to the overlord himself. It is true that the attributes of the statue of Ashur-naṣir-pal, and the situation in which it was

found, might seem more definitely to suggest an actual cult, but the figure itself has not the usual marks of divinity, such as the horned head-dress, and the inscription on the slab which paved the niche seems to prove that the temple was actually dedicated to a known deity. Why the king's statue should apparently have occupied the niche is difficult to understand, but there is nothing in Assyrian religious usage which could make the notion of king-worship admissible.

As concerns the obelisks, nothing is actually known which justifies considering them as more than objects of ostentation, neither the situations in which they were found, nor their own character. The form is peculiar (pl. II), and is not very exactly described by the term "obelisk," which is properly used of the Egyptian monuments tapering towards the top and ending in a pyramid, such as the familiar "Cleopatra's Needle." The Assyrian obelisks are truncated, and end above not in a pyramid, but in three steps, leaving a small flat space upon the top. They differ also from the Egyptian type in having upon their four sides rows of sculptured scenes, accompanied by inscriptions, whereas the Egyptian obelisks had inscriptions only, which were read vertically, not, like the Assyrian pictures and inscriptions, horizontally. Nevertheless, it is very likely that the form of the obelisks is due to Egyptian influence, which may not have been direct, but derived rather from Syria, and this might account for the divergent form which they assumed with the Assyrians. In Egypt the obelisks are emblems of the Sun-god, and their association with the Pharaoh as "son of the Sun" is natural. In Assyria they are not dedicated to any god, and, though conjecture might find religious implications in their shape, there is no positive evidence that they served as, or were reputed, anything more than monuments of royal display.

The purpose of the sculptured wall-slabs is, however, quite clear. Their invariable place was at the base of walls, surrounding the state apartments of palaces, and resting upon the floor. In the galleries where they are now exhibited their position round the walls is true to the original arrangement, but there was nothing like the low stone base upon which they are now raised for convenience of viewing. The walls of Assyrian palaces were of crude brick, a friable sub-

stance easily damaged by wear. In rooms where there was constant passing or where large companies gathered, the wall-surfaces up to human height were therefore provided with a dado of stone rectangular slabs, set close together upon their short sides and sometimes bonded together at the top by lead clamps. The weakness of this arrangement was that there was no satisfactory union with the wall; the dado had to depend for its stability upon no more than the mutual support of the slabs, assisted by the hold of their unsmoothed backs, with perhaps a mud mortar, in the clay wall, for there were no metal clamps fixing the slabs to the wall. Some additional strength was occasionally given by incorporating a more solid angle-stone at the corners, but another weakness was the absence of any firm foundation for the slabs, the weight of which caused them to sink irregularly in the earth floor, and, when from any cause one had been deranged, the collapse of a whole line would easily follow. The excavators found that this had, in fact, often taken place. Despite this lack of stability, against which it is surprising to find that no measures were taken in the course of generations, the purpose of the slabs was originally protective, as is further shown by the use of stone revetments for earth-terraces at Khorsabad, Nimrûd, and particularly for the platform of Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh, of which he surrounded the retaining-wall with a stone facing "so that the foundation of the platform should not be weakened in length of days by the force of floods."

To utilize the surfaces thus provided as a medium of decoration was therefore an after-thought, but one which was naturally suggested by the ordinary treatment of the brick wall-surfaces not covered by the stone dado. From very early times it had been the practice to clothe the rough brick with coats of fine mud-plaster and to enliven this with colour washes, either in plain bands or in patterns. In Assyria this decoration soon assumed the characteristic style of representing scenes of royal activity in war or peace, and perhaps religious symbols. Such wall-paintings continued in use until the end, being used on the higher parts of walls in conjunction with the sculptures below, and also as substitutes for these in circumstances which were not thought to justify the labour and expense of carving stone. It must not be forgotten, in

looking at the reliefs as they appear to-day, that they were originally set off with bright colours, as indeed was the practice in all ancient, classical, and even mediæval sculpture. The general appearance of the carved stone dado was therefore, at the first glance, not greatly different from that of a flat painted wall, of which it was, in fact, simply a more elaborate and luxurious version, the effect of the colours being heightened by the play of light upon the surfaces. Various occurrences of plain or unfinished slabs found set up in their places prove that the sculptures were added after erection, a procedure dictated, indeed, by the softness of the stone, but also indicative of the view that the carving was simply a process of wall-decoration. A similar effect was sometimes obtained by the use of specially-moulded and enamelled bricks, laid so as to make up figures in low relief. This method, though used in Assyria, was less common there because of the local wealth of easily-worked stone, but in Babylon, where there was no stone readily at hand, these moulded bricks were used for all important buildings of state, and this kind of work was much in favour with the Persians afterwards.

MATERIALS.

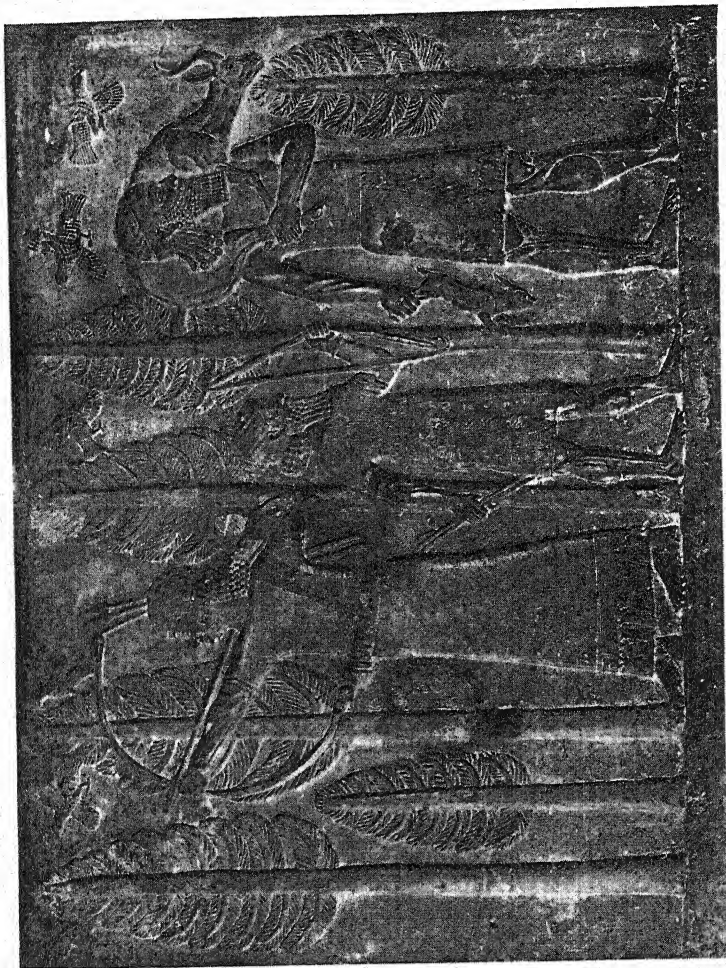
By far the greatest part of all the Assyrian sculptures is executed in a kind of soft limestone native to their country of origin. When first extracted it is said to be whitish in colour, but soon assumes the familiar grey surface, with more or less clearly defined splotches of alabastrine yellow, which can be observed in many examples, such as the great Khorsabad bulls in the Assyrian Transept. This stone has the advantage of being extremely soft and easily workable, but is otherwise of poor quality, very fragile, and of very small resistance to any disintegrating forces. It was therefore used by the Assyrians almost exclusively for indoor situations, and in the ruin of their palaces has suffered enormously from breakage, damp, and fire. The effect of fire, in particular, can be seen on many of the sculptures from Nineveh as a result of the conflagration of 612 B.C., and also on the Khorsabad slabs; it has pitted the surface, and turned it to a chalky white, while at the same time lending a sharper definition to the carvings. This material abounds in all the country, both in outcrops and at a

small depth under the clay soil, and the great use made of what is actually an inferior material is explained by the ease with which it could be procured. Sennacherib records that his masons discovered a new quarry of this "white limestone" at Balatai (now Eski Moşul), from which he obtained slabs and fashioned winged bulls. The same passage also shows that the Assyrians were compelled to go much farther afield to get more durable stones, and of these they made a restricted use.

A few other kinds of stone may be found in certain examples. The reliefs of Ashur-bani-pal in the Kuyûnjiğ Gallery, depicting the battle against the Elamites, are of a brownish limestone, not much harder than the ordinary kind, and also of local origin; the innumerable white flecks are small fossils. A very rough grey limestone is used for the colossal human head of a winged bull from Esarhaddon's palace at Nimrûd, No. 118893 in the Nimrûd Central Saloon, and almost opposite to this is a similar but rather smaller head from Ashur-naşir-pal's palace, made of a buff-coloured limestone. The statue of Ashur-naşir-pal and its base (Nimrûd Gallery) are not of quite the same material, the base being rather redder in colour, but both are fashioned out of a hard kind of limestone. The two statues of the god Nabu, and the obelisk in the Assyrian Transept, are also of some different material. Apart from these there are the few specimens of the use of hard stones, the Black Obelisk being the most familiar. It is possible that the hardness of the stone is partly responsible for the comparative awkwardness of the reliefs. The headless seated statue of Shalmaneser III, from the city of Ashur, is of a porous black basalt, and the single slab from Khorsabad, 118829 in the east side of the Assyrian Transept, which shows hunters shooting game in a wood (see pl. V), is a fine example of relief carving in another hard material. There was only one place in the ruins at Khorsabad where slabs of this hard black stone were found.

ARTISTIC METHODS AND CONVENTIONS.

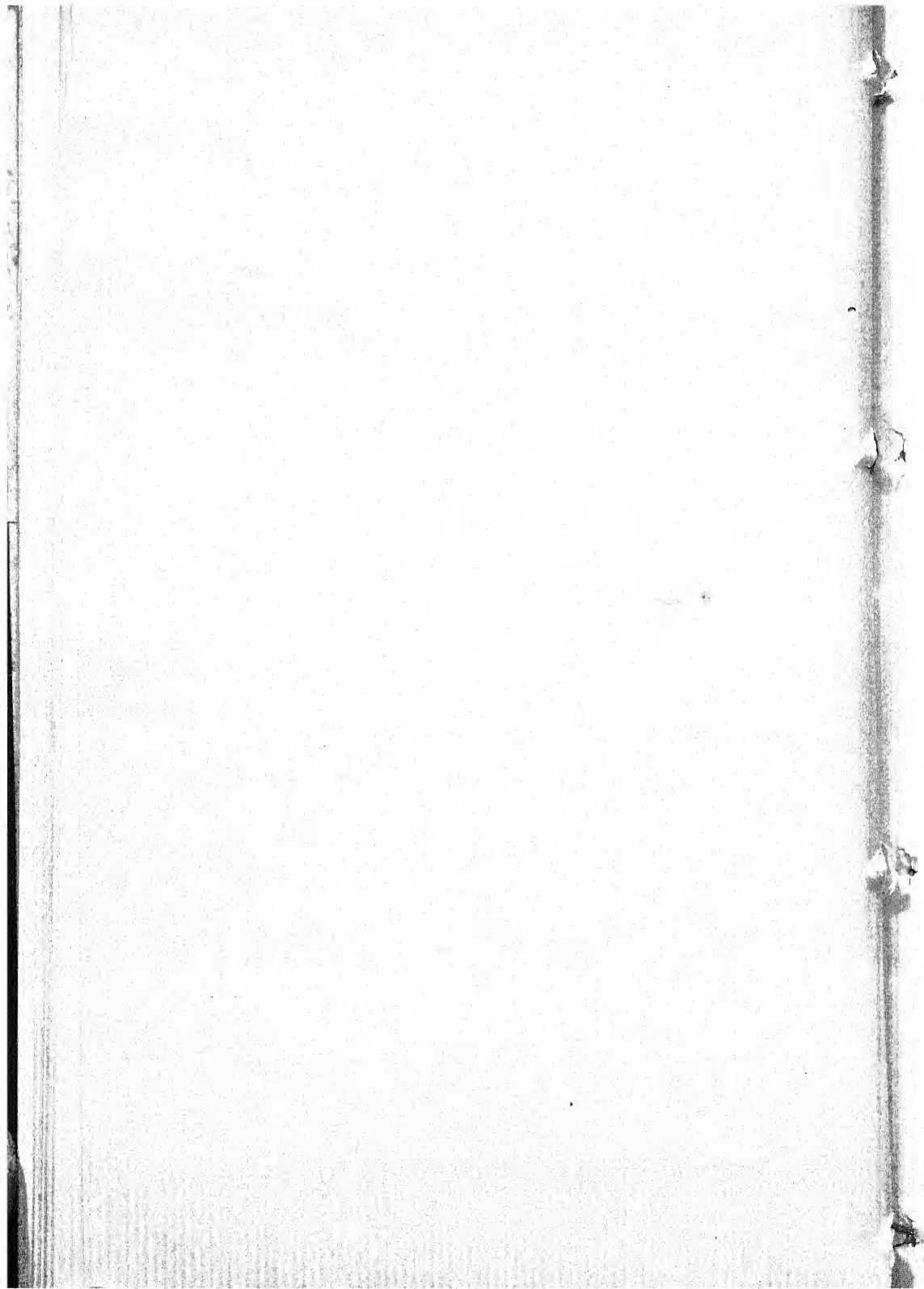
On one of the bronze bands from the Gates of Shalmaneser (Band X, right end, in lower register) an Assyrian sculptor can be seen at work carving an image of the king on a cliff-face at the source of the Tigris. He wields a chisel and a hammer, the latter an elongated oval instrument of stone or wood.



Hunters in a wood shooting birds and carrying game ; relief on black stone, from the palace of Sargon II, 722-705 B.C., at Khorsabad.

[Assyrian Transept East, 118829.]

(See pp. 20, 65.)



If one principle might be taken as predominant in all Assyrian sculpture it would be flatness. The apparent examples of the contrary use really do no more than emphasize this character. Sculpture in the round was attempted, and there are various pieces extant. But not merely do these display no deep cutting on their surface; they are clearly not meant, or at any rate are unsuccessful, as figures to be viewed truly in the round, for even in them can be seen the conception of an image, as it were, projected on a flat screen parallel with the spectator, who is not genuinely conceived as looking aslant at them or passing round them. The statuette of Ashur-našir-pal (see pl. IV) produces the whole of its by no means negligible effect from the front; the back is uninteresting, and from the sides it appears too narrow. It may be assumed that this figure stood on its pedestal with its back to a wall, and hardly amounted to more than a high relief. The winged bulls and lions are indeed in high relief, and the foreparts actually in the round, but the relief is not high in proportion with their gigantic size, and it is surprising how little, rather than how much, they are disengaged from the block. These also are shown by their most curious feature as meant to be viewed from two points only, by one standing directly in front or directly beside them, and looking straight before him—hence the five legs. It is true that, had they been wholly detached from the block, the legs could not have supported the weight of the bodies, but it does not seem at all likely that this was the governing consideration. The whole bent of the Assyrian sculptors was, in fact, for the low relief, in which they achieved all their greatest successes, and from the prepossessions of which they could never free themselves.

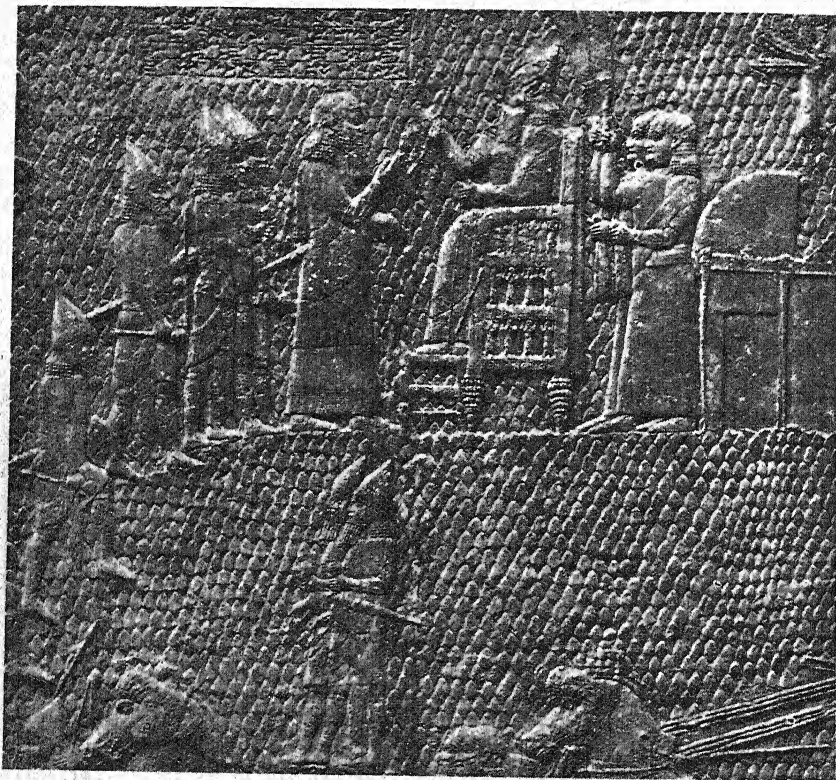
The plane on which the Assyrian artist saw his figures passed through the object seen somewhat nearer than the middle of the object. To bring the rest of the figure on to this plane was a problem of some difficulty, but beyond that was the far more serious difficulty of embracing other objects at entirely different distances. In the earlier sculptures this problem was wisely declined so far as possible, and the comparatively small degrees of recognition that were given to it in later work never really approached the attempt to draw in perspective. Possibly the finest of all the Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum,

or indeed elsewhere, are the grand figures of the king and his attendants represented in state, or performing religious functions on the reliefs in the Nimrûd Gallery (see pll. XI, XVI), and in these the background is totally excluded. Except for their slight projection from the ground of the slab, the figures are moulded shapes seen upon an opaque screen, before and behind which nothing exists.

This rigorous exclusion was mostly practised where one set of figures filled the whole slab, or where the subjects were at rest, but scenes of action often required some notice to be taken of the surroundings in order to explain the action. Thus, even in the war-sculptures of Ashur-naşir-pal, other figures are inserted above or below the main scene, not in separate registers but in the same field. There are slain bodies of enemies lying among desert bushes, two rows of soldiers bringing severed heads, men in the foreground undermining a city, the army and transport crossing a river, chariots passing before a city wall, and even vessels and other booty carved over the heads of a line of prisoners (Nimrûd Gallery 6B). The last example proves how completely absent is any idea of perspective, and so does the picture of the circular royal kitchen, on slab IIA, which is viewed at once from above, so that the circular form and all the compartments are seen, and yet at the same time from the side, so that the walls and towers, and all the occupants at their work, are seen in full length. There was, however, one problem of depth which could not be wholly avoided; horses are yoked abreast in chariots, men may be moving in ranks, or standing before trees. In such cases it is interesting to see that the effect of depth is minimized to the utmost possible extent. The relief never becomes higher, the trees simply grow out over the heads of men and beasts (*e.g.* Assyrian Basement, 124953-124958), men in a prostrate position are arranged before those kneeling, and these before others standing (Kuyûnjik Gallery, 49, 50), followed by a "band" of musicians in irregular order, and women carefully placed behind their children. Horses abreast in chariots never display more than a few extremities of the animals away from the spectator, and it is noticeable that this obscurity is most completely carried out in the latest sculptures, those of Ashur-bani-pal; in the hunting scenes the king might often seem, apart from a



PLATE VI.



Sennacherib, King of Assyria from 705-681 B.C., seated upon his throne before the city of Lachish and receiving the spoil.

detail or two such as the crests, to be driving a one-horse chariot.

The paramount aim of the Assyrian sculptors was therefore to present a picture and to tell a story. As they were certainly untroubled by questions of what should be the purpose of art, and how it might best be achieved, they were free to devote their powers to the setting forth of "truth to nature" as they conceived it, and this was the meticulous rendering of every detail in the subject which they were depicting, as it presented itself to the eye. Following the natural bent of their minds, their art was concrete and objective in a pre-eminent degree, and, being devoted almost entirely to the royal service, its purpose was to provide a pictorial version of the king's martial triumphs and civil splendour as set forth in the annals which the more cultivated or leisured sort could read from the inscriptions. This pictorial character of the sculptures and their intimate relation with history is emphasized by the "epigraphs" or captions which accompany some of the scenes (*e.g.* Kuyûnjik Gallery, Nos. 45-50), and even more by the extraordinary practice, in the sculptures of Ashur-naşir-pal, of inscribing a general summary of his achievements right across the figures.

Desiring to represent with great faithfulness a story about human beings (or rather about one, the king, to whom all the others are ancillary), Assyrian art is at once unduly exclusive of all that is not to its anecdotal purpose, and unnaturally inclusive of all that is. Thus it had little interest in the setting of a scene, and in the sculptures of Ashur-naşir-pal landscape is rigorously ignored. The Bronze Gates of Shalmaneser have a highly curious picture of the king's celebrations at the source of the Tigris, and here, with true Assyrian consistency, the natural features are admitted because they have a part in the royal story. The later work of Tiglath-pileser III begins to admit something more in the nature of an entire scene (Nimrûd Central Saloon, No. 118882), and with Sennacherib the character of the ground and the surrounding natural features are indicated with some prominence, as in the siege of Lachish (see pl. VI) and the transport of winged bulls for his palace at Nineveh. The progress of time thus appears to show a gradual breaking down of the earlier

exclusiveness in the artists' outlook, but there is no doubt that this tendency was felt to be alien to the Assyrian spirit, for it is noticeable that the very latest sculptures, those of Ashur-bani-pal, are decidedly more sparing in the admission of natural features, and the very finest examples, the hunting scenes, return to the purely ideal space of the ninth century, with no indication at all of the terrain over which hunters and hunted move, save the single exception of the bosky hill crowned by a royal monument, where the populace, with excited gestures, is climbing the fir-trees to see the sport in the guarded arena.

From the same pre-occupations that led to the disregard of landscape springs the unnatural inclusiveness already mentioned, which is shown in the methods employed to depict things which are not really visible from the artist's point of view. Thus he gives the inside of a city or house as well as the walls surrounding it, and again the occupants viewed in their normal position. A battle spread over a plain is descried in all its incidents, many files of soldiers advancing abreast are all visible at full length, four strings of straining captives hale along a stone colossus, none obscuring the others, and boats, crabs, and fish float over water and are not submerged in it. In the absence of true perspective the method is always the same; what is behind is placed above, sometimes with a ground-line drawn at its feet. As many as seven or eight registers, or partial registers, are sometimes formed in this way. It seems impossible to perceive that there is any attempt to lessen the size of the figures as they recede from the spectator. Variations of size are indeed found, but they can almost always be explained, either by exigencies of space (*e.g.* the defenders of a fortress are diminutive, because fortresses are always drawn absurdly under proportion), or by differences of importance—the king is taller than his officers or the common soldiers, the Assyrians are bigger than the enemy, the slave-drivers tower over their victims. Consideration of these devices, which at first seem ridiculous to eyes trained in European design, shows that the Assyrian artist was able, without any sense of incongruity, to draw, as it were, from two points at once, ninety degrees apart, generally in a vertical direction—that is, he could take a horizontal and a

“bird’s-eye” view together, and transfer them alike to the flat surface in front of him, thus bringing down the vertical to the horizontal. Strange as this convention may seem when thus analysed, it is amply justified by a success which enables the scenes to be understood and enjoyed without reflection upon the methods by which they are composed.

By far the most commonly represented subject in Assyrian sculpture is the human figure, as is natural in view of its predominantly narrative purpose. Nearly always this figure is represented in profile, both of the head and body, but the latter is always an embarrassment to the artist, and tends to appear too much as if viewed from the front, a convention which, as is well known, was used unaffectedly in Egyptian art. The heavy and long clothing which the Assyrians wore, by lending the body a solid, almost cylindrical, appearance, helped to disguise the undue prominence often allowed to the hinder shoulder, but nevertheless this feature is marked, especially in the older sculpture, though even there figures in profile consistently rendered are not infrequent. But, especially if the hinder arm is in action, its shoulder generally protrudes in a highly unnatural manner, and it may therefore be partly for æsthetic reasons that Ashur-naṣir-pal is generally shooting towards the spectator’s right, for thus his action can be more forcefully and gracefully portrayed. Where a man is allowed to face in the opposite direction (as in Nimrūd Gallery, No. 14B), the result is unhappy; one is actually regarding the archer’s back, but this hardly appears; the arms are almost correctly rendered, but do not seem so; the head is posed in a totally impossible manner; the beard has crossed the left shoulder; the feet are not only turned in full profile, but are put respectively in their wrong places; and finally, the right hand, though it has lost the bowstring behind the king’s head and hair, appears itself in full development. Other figures in the same relief have the same crudities, and the foremost archer in 118903 (Nimrūd Central Saloon), a sculpture of Tiglath-pileser III, is even more utterly confused, for here even a part of the bowstring has been shown across the back of the bowman, in addition to all the other faults. A decided advance in these respects is made with the work of Sargon; the bodies are more properly in profile, the hinder shoulder is not so apt

to protrude, the bowstring and hand disappear behind the head and hair in shooting towards the left. Nevertheless, a great deal of awkwardness still persists, especially in the treatment of the feet, which were at all periods a great difficulty, for not only could the artists not render their true stance, but they constantly blundered over their respective position. The attempt to give a figure in full face was not often made, but when it was the effect was clumsy, as may be seen in the human figures beside the great Khorsabad bulls in the Assyrian Transept. Here the head and face are good, but the artist is in difficulties from the shoulders downwards, and the legs and feet end in frank profile. The Assyrians also are not exempt from the awkwardness of the Egyptians in showing an eye with its full circumference in a profile face. This fault is, however, slightly mitigated by using the depth of the relief to turn the eye partly forward, though in most cases the untruth is still strongly marked.

Among all the numberless human figures represented there is a great sameness, and very little attempt was made at portraiture; even the kings so often depicted hardly differ from each other. Rather than individuality, their faces and figures are designed to present a handsome appearance and majestic mien, according to the ideas of their time. There is, however, some distinction of national types, as the Palestinians in Sennacherib's siege of Lachish, and the Elamites, and, most of all, the Ethiopians (Assyrian Basement, 124928) in the wars of Ashur-bani-pal. But if individual portraiture was never cultivated as in Egyptian art, it is quite unlikely to have been for want of skill. There was not, so far as known, any private demand for portraiture in Assyria, and the kings, who alone could have demanded such a faithful tracing of their features, had no reason to indulge their subjects with a distinction which they did not prize for themselves, preferring to be shown merely as an ideal embodiment of manly strength, beauty, and majesty.

Some references have already been made to the changes in artistic manner which can be observed in progress between the ninth and the seventh centuries, though the continuity of the tradition is much more notable than its modifications. There is, however, as already remarked, a greater disposition to

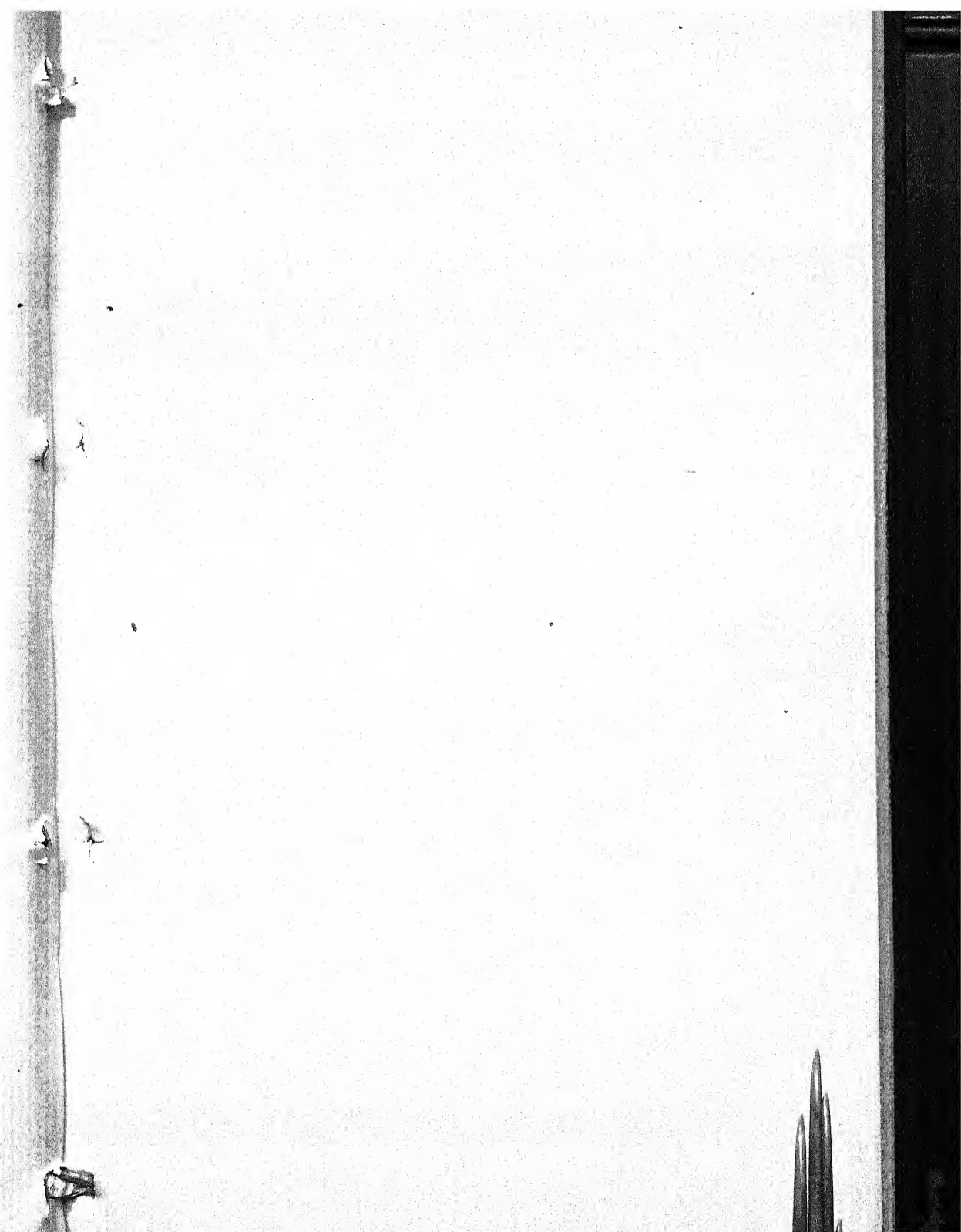


PLATE VII.



Portion of one of the bronze bands from the gates of Shalmaneser III, King of Assyria from 859 to 824 B.C., representing the army on the march. On the right of the upper register is a figure of the king; below, a representation of chariots crossing a river by a bridge of boats. (See pp. 11, 27.)

admit the surroundings of an action, and thus to portray a kind of landscape, which is most prominent in the work of Sennacherib. Also certain incongruities in the treatment of the human figure which offend in the earlier period are eliminated in the age of the Sargonids; these have been described above. A considerable alteration in the design and equipment of the chariots was made in the period over which the sculptures extend. Those of Ashur-naṣir-pal and Shalmaneser III (see pl. VII) seem to have rounded fronts, whereas the later kings used the square shape. The former were equipped with two quivers fixed crosswise on the front of the car, but on the latter there seems to be one only, standing upright. In the ninth century the wheels were six-spoked, and rather small; but from the time of Tiglath-pileser III (see pl. VIII) they were given eight spokes, and seem to have increased in size, for Ashur-bani-pal's chariots (see pl. IX) sometimes have wheels represented as high as a man; this king also used nail-studded tyres, which seem to have been an innovation in Assyria, though they had been very long known in Babylonia. A curious difference in the harnessing of the horses is also to be observed between the ninth and seventh centuries; from the time of Sargon onwards there is hardly any more to be seen an elliptical-shaped object which joins the front of the pole, or the yoke, to the top of the chariot-front. In several examples it can be seen that this contrivance was elaborately decorated, and it was probably made of wood, leather, or cloth, on a wooden frame, though its purpose is hard to make out. Its use was not connected with the change in the usual number of horses, for Shalmaneser III and Tiglath-pileser used it with a team of two, whereas three had been the standard of Ashur-naṣir-pal. Whether these three were all under the yoke, or one ran free, it is not possible to ascertain from the ordinary representations, but that the yoke extended over two alone is not only probable in itself, but proved by the chariots which can be seen embarked for the passage of a river on slabs 7B-9B in the Nimrūd Gallery; these have yokes for two only, and the third horse ran in some kind of traces, the whole team resembling closely, it would seem, that of Achilles which he lent to Patroclus in Homer.¹ In the later period, as always in Egypt, the two-horsed team was

¹ *Iliad*, Book XVI, 148-152, 470-475.

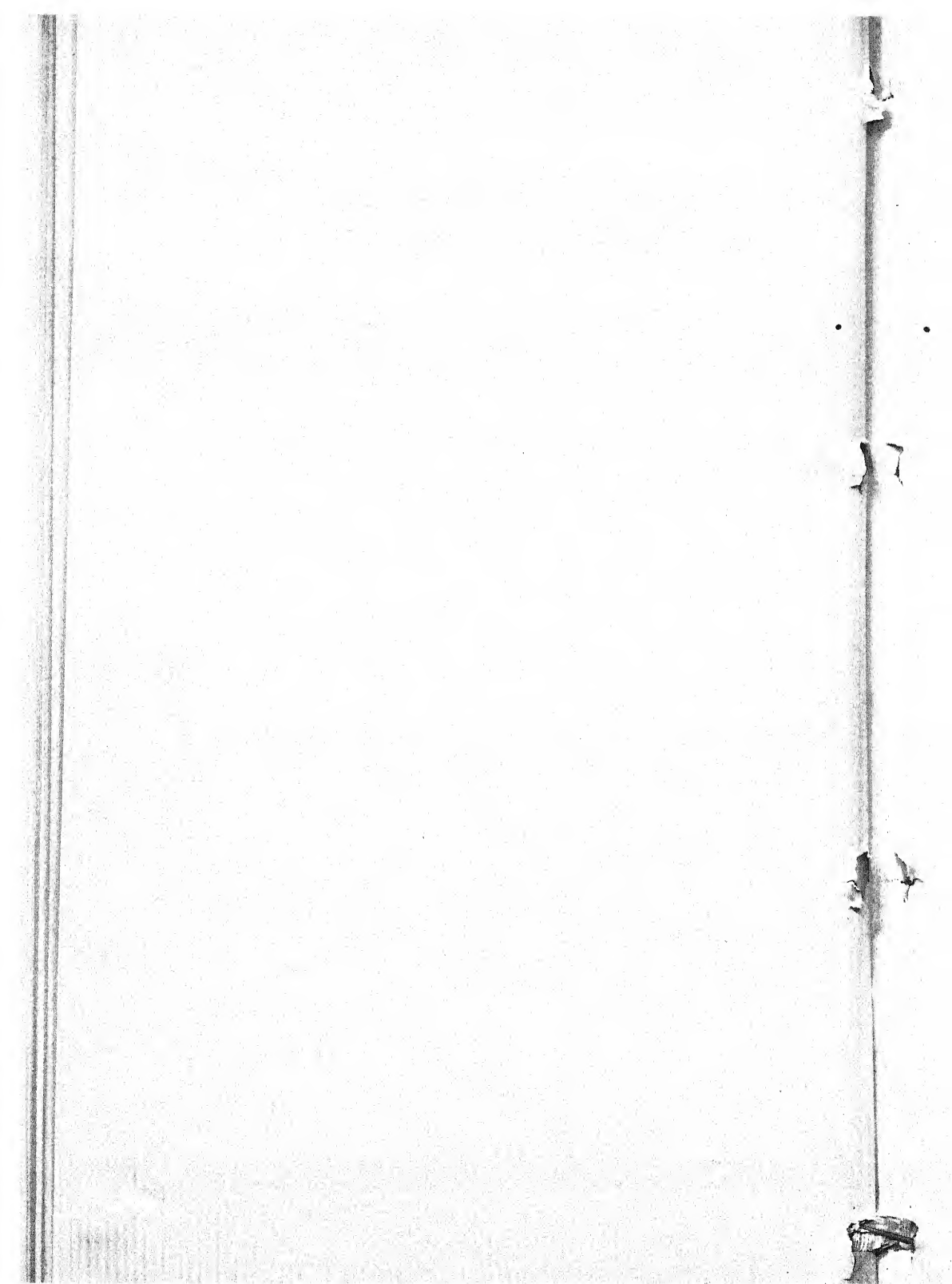
almost invariably used, for it had no doubt been discovered that the third horse, merely a spare, exercising no pull, and always hampering the movement of the pair, was rather a hindrance than a help. The normal crew of a chariot was three, but four are sometimes found in the reign of Ashur-bani-pal whose chariots were larger than his predecessors'.

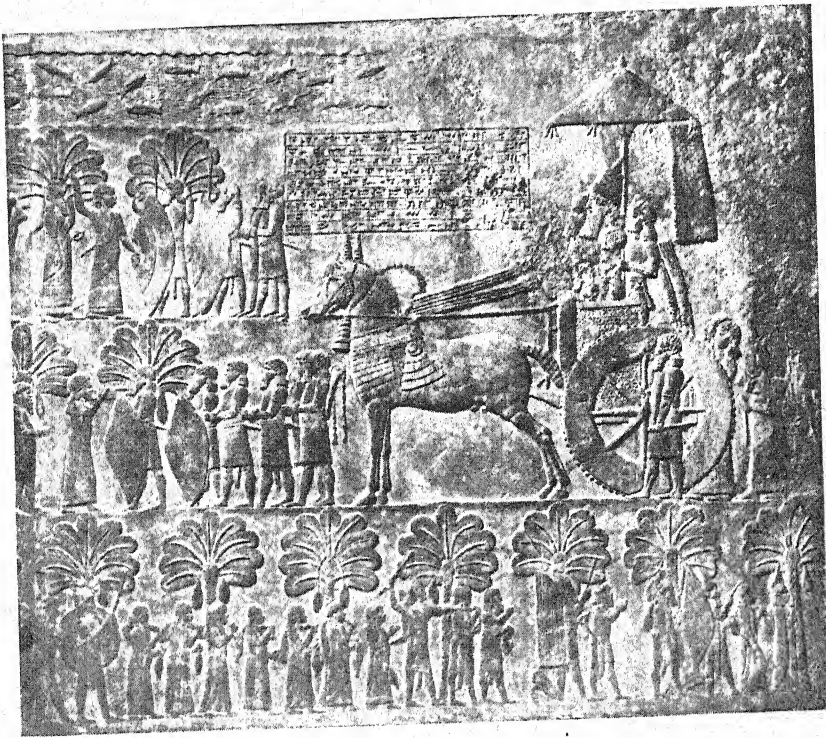
COLOURING OF THE SCULPTURES.

Even had no vestiges of colour remained upon the sculptures when found, it would have been safe to conjecture that it had once existed, for it was the universal practice of antiquity to add this embellishment to carved stone. In fact, however, the use of colour on the Assyrian reliefs was attested by considerable remains of painting visible at the time of their first discovery, and traces of it can still be seen, though in the collection of the British Museum they are few and faint. The necks of the lion-headed monsters on the slabs 118911 and 118918 in the Assyrian Saloon retain a tinge of red, and on the series of reliefs, Nos. 20-26 in the Nimrûd Gallery (see pl. XVI) the sandals of the figures can be more or less clearly seen coloured red in the soles and black in the upper parts. It must not be supposed, however, that the whole of the reliefs were daubed over with paint, for, although the accounts of the discoverers, who alone saw the colours as they emerged comparatively fresh from the earth, are somewhat confused, there can be little doubt that colour was in fact used rather sparingly, and only to emphasize details, such as the "white" of the eye, which was distinguished by this colour from the black pupil. Such features as weapons, or sprays of flowers carried in the hand, were generally coloured, and so also were articles of clothing, and the foliage of trees. So far as the sculptures were concerned, the colours in use seem to have been restricted to black, white, blue and red, certainly in the ninth century, and probably until the seventh. The range of colours used in the wall paintings and enamelled bricks was more extended, as may be seen in the specimens collected in the Assyrian Room. For these yellow was introduced at least by the time of Tukulti-Enurta II, the predecessor of Ashur-naṣir-pal, and was freely employed by him; green does not seem to appear before the end of the eighth century.

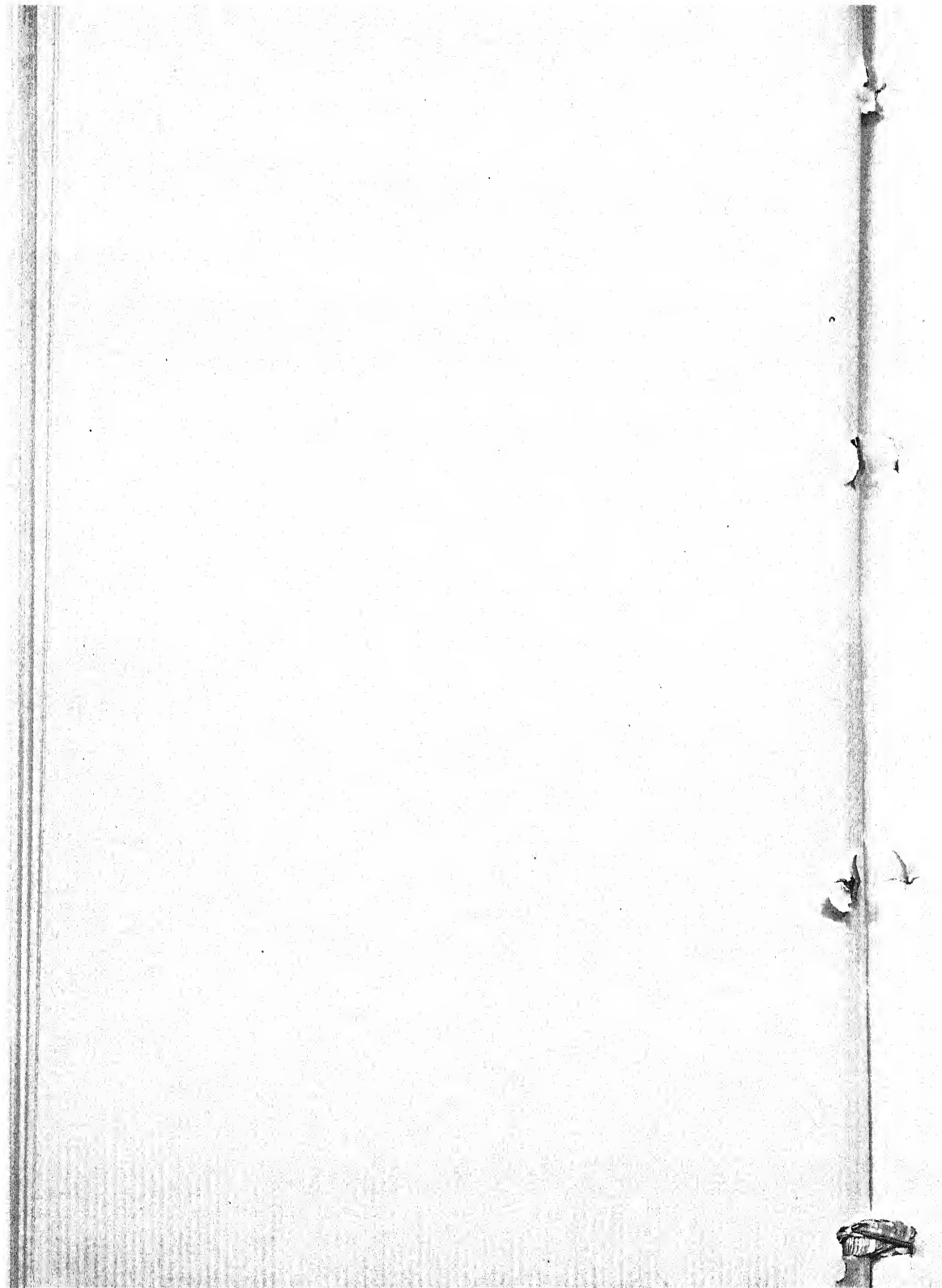


Relief from the palace at Nimrūd of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria, 745-727 B.C. Above are prisoners and cattle being driven away from the captured city of Astartu ; below, the king in his chariot, with attendants.





Relief from the palace at Kuyûnjik of Ashur-bani-pal, King of Assyria 668-626 B.C., showing the king receiving prisoners and spoil after the defeat, of his rebellious brother, Shamash-shum-ukin, King of Babylon.



SCENES OF WAR AND THE CHASE.

Care of detail has already been observed as one of the chief preoccupations of the Assyrian sculptors, and this has made of the reliefs an almost inexhaustible mine of observation as to their conduct of certain departments of life. Since these works are concerned exclusively with the king, and tend exclusively to his glorification, they deal only with the employments in which he appears most truly a king according to contemporary notions—that is, in battle and hunting, and as the religious head of the State. It is in their usual subordinate part that the Assyrians, of higher and lesser rank, appear in these sculptures, but incidentally they reveal a multitude of minor facts unobtainable from the inscriptions, and thus present a picture which, however inadequate as a view of the general level of Assyrian material civilization, is the nearest approach to the Egyptian tomb-pictures, so rich in information as to every-day, rather than State, matters.

As a record of the military affairs of the Assyrians, the war-sculptures have certain notable deficiencies in spite of their vividness and wealth of detail. Army organization is, of course, beyond the scope of such portrayal, but it is to be regretted that nowhere can there be found a picture showing the order of battle, the places assigned to the various arms, or any hint of how they might be disposed in view of the nature of the ground. A short inscription or "epigraph" (like those upon slabs 45-50 in the Kuyûnjik Gallery) from a relief now lost speaks of "the array of Ashur-bani-pal, king of [Assyria], which he arrayed against Te-umman, king of Elam, and made defeat of the land of Elam," while on the other side was "the array of Te-umman, king of Elam," so that here the opposing forces must have been shown, but in the existing sculptures there is nothing of the kind. Further, the artists are so intent upon depicting nothing but Assyrian victories, and especially the prowess of the king, that the battles, except around fortresses, tend to be nothing but pursuits of individuals or small groups of enemies, and look like very scrambling affairs. But though neither the Assyrians, as it seems, nor their enemies fought in the phalanx, yet their smaller units must have been close-knit, and the actual shock of battle was evidently severe, and often grimly contested, but

these are not the moments which the sculptors choose to depict.

Nevertheless, the reliefs show the Assyrian army as a formidable instrument of war, and help to explain its success in the field, and the moral superiority that it had won by the terror which its victories and its cruelties alike inspired, a terror attested not only by such vaunting expression as "that fellow (the enemy leader) saw the approach of my battle and to save his life he fled," but by the less suspect descriptions given by the prophets of Israel.¹ As to the cruelties wreaked on the vanquished, it must be confessed that impalements, flayings alive, mutilations and slaughters are represented with distressing frequency and ghoulish attention, and these, together with the harsh language of the inscriptions, have given the Assyrians an odious reputation. But it must not be forgotten that their enemies could and did stain their hands with the like ghastly crimes when the fortune of war favoured them, that such mutual ferocities were, in fact, sanctioned by the manners of the age, and that the Assyrians have suffered in repute mainly because their frank records have been preserved while those of their enemies have mostly perished, or never existed.

The three arms of the Assyrian forces were chariotry, cavalry and infantry, in this order of distinction, and in the reverse order of numbers. Among these the first and last are most prominent in the sculptures, but the chariots are the favourite subject, not only perhaps because the king naturally fought in this most honourable corps, but because the artists must have been conscious of the opportunities which the fine appearance and action of these vehicles gave them.

The chariot, as an instrument of war and the chase, had been used for many centuries in Western Asia, and had undergone a number of variations, both as to its structure and its means of traction. It was, however, as a short examination of the sculptures will show, an elaborate construction and correspondingly expensive, especially as the necessary animals were themselves valuable. It is recorded² that in the time of Solomon chariots were exported from Egypt to all the states

¹ See Isaiah v, 27-29.

² I Kings, x, 29.

of Syria, and the cost of a chariot was no less than 600 shekels of silver, and of a horse 150 shekels. Poorer nations were therefore unable to possess them, and hence were powerless against their wealthier neighbours, as the Israelites on their first coming into Canaan were successful against the mountain-tribes but "could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron."¹ In spite of this, the number of chariots which a powerful kingdom could put into the field was surprisingly large, for King Ahab of Israel is said by his opponent, Shalmaneser III, to have sent no less than 2,000 chariots and 10,000 foot soldiers to the battle of Karkar in 853 B.C., a surprisingly high proportion which none of the other allies on that occasion attained. There is no information concerning the usual and proportionate chariot-strength of the Assyrian army, but it probably varied according to the nature of the ground over which the campaign was to be fought, since chariots were, of course, a mere encumbrance in mountainous country. In the plains their effectiveness was at its height, and therefore Ashur-naşir-pal, in an expedition against Carchemish and the lands of the Upper Euphrates, impressed into his own army the chariotry of submissive princes.

The chariot tactics of the Assyrians are fairly well indicated by the sculptures. They relied somewhat upon the shock of a charge, the natural effect of the impetus of a heavy and fast-moving unit, but much more upon the execution wrought by the arrows discharged from the chariot in its course. There was evidently a chariot-battle which regularly preceded the coming to grips of the infantry, for the sculptures (Nimrud Gallery, 14A) show the enemy chariots in flight, their horses wounded, and their cars overturned before the Assyrian onslaught. Axes are borne in the quivers attached to the chariot-fronts, but are never seen in use, for it is evident that a chariot could accomplish little if brought to a standstill and closely engaged among a mass of unbroken infantry, nor did the Assyrians ever use the scythed chariots which figured in the battle of Cunaxa, and were probably introduced by the Persians. This reliance upon shooting was, indeed, highly characteristic of Assyrian tactics in general, and is consistent

¹ Judges i, 19.

with the absence of any indication that they ever fought in the phalanx. Here is a notable contrast with the tactics of the early Sumerians, who relied wholly upon weight and in-fighting, not merely with the phalanx, but with the heavy four-yoked carts seen upon the "standard" from Ur (121201) in the Babylonian Room, the occupants of which are armed only with lance and axe. Bows are seen in the hands of the Assyrians, chariotry, horsemen, and foot-soldiers alike; even in sieges the archery designed to pick off the defenders, or to keep their heads down, receives the main emphasis, perhaps, indeed, because this was the operation in which the king took part, for he never appears at the head of a scaling-party or in command of the rams. Rapid progress in a springless vehicle over uneven ground was often so jolting as to require a loop for the riders to cling to (Nimrûd Gallery, 12A), and it is natural to wonder what sort of practice was made by the bowmen in these conditions. Even the charioteer was more favourably situated than the horseman who discharged his arrows from the back of a galloping mount without even the aid of stirrups (which were unknown to the Assyrians, as the sculptures show), and yet the terror inspired by the Parthian mounted archers in a later age proves that dexterity could triumph over the least favourable conditions. But if the Assyrian chariots seem to have depended rather upon mobility and shooting than upon actual shock, they were none the less genuine fighting units, not primarily a mere device for rapid transport to the scene of action, as they were in Homer, where the heroes "leapt from the car with weapons to the ground" in order to do battle, and their chariots waited in the rear to bear them away swiftly to another point where the pressure was severe, or, if need be, to retreat.

Some constructional details of the Assyrian chariot, and certain changes which were introduced between the ninth and seventh centuries have already been noted. Other features which may be observed in the sculptures of Ashur-naṣir-pal are the curved shields with spikes and a lion's head in the middle, which are attached to the back of the chariots; the lances which are carried in rests on the side of the car, point upwards and backward-sloping; and the two standards, borne each on a chariot, which appear several times (Nimrûd Gallery, 8A,

10B, 12A, 14A). These are circular emblems mounted on poles: one shows a god (Ashur?) standing on the back of a galloping bull and shooting with the bow; the other is a pike, with the point surrounded by a circle, in which are placed two figures of bulls back to back and a twisted band. These standards are planted upright inside the front of the car, and are secured by a taut rope to the yoke or to the front of the pole. A scene on the Bronze Gates of Shalmaneser (Band I, left, upper register) shows these two standards set up near a stone-cut image of the king, receiving worship and sacrifice, so that they were evidently held sacred, and their loss would be considered a national calamity. The harnessing of the horses is governed by the use of the yoke, according to the universal practice of antiquity, which had discovered neither the horse-collar nor the method of linking draught-animals in line. In the ninth century, as already remarked, two horses abreast were brought under the yoke, and another ran free by the side; this was apparently the usual practice, but the quadriga was not unknown to Ashur-naṣir-pal, and Shalmaneser III seems already to have discarded the trace-horse, which was never afterwards employed. The shape of the yoke and the arches for the horses' necks can be seen on the unharnessed chariots being ferried across a river (Nimrūd Gallery, 7B-9B), and this attachment was secured to the horse by bands, richly adorned with tassels, which passed round his breast and under his belly. A string of large beads, no doubt amulets, also hung about the horses' necks, and their equipment was completed by a headstall fitted with the bit, and supporting a crest, generally of plumes. At this time the chariot-horses did not usually wear any protective covering, such as was normal later. The charioteer holds three reins in each hand, and these seem, at least, to run direct to each horse's bit, through rings in the harness at the shoulder.

Many changes have affected the chariot when it appears in the late eighth and the seventh centuries, and some of these have already been noticed—the different shape of the body, the increase in size of the wheels and number of their spokes, the disappearance of the curious, elliptical-shaped object extending between the front of the car and the end of the pole. It will also be seen that the backward-slanting spear is no

longer carried, nor the spiked shield which closed the back of Ashur-naṣir-pal's chariots. There is, however, a substitute for the latter feature on the hunting-chariots of Ashur-bani-pal, which will be seen to have a stout tail-board secured to the body by straps and fastenings. The purpose of this was to protect the riders from the attack of an infuriated lion leaping at the back of the chariot, as in Assyrian Saloon, No. 124850. In the seventh century also a serious attempt was made to give protection to the horses by an ample covering over the back, flanks, hindquarters, and at least partly the breast, whereas in earlier times the chariot-horses had worn nothing but their harness, except in the case of a few specially-equipped units. But the most curious of all changes is in the system of rein-control, which seems to differ fundamentally in the two periods. On the Nimrūd slabs the charioteer generally holds three reins in each hand, and the nearest of these, which alone can be traced in its full length, runs directly to the horse's bit. A very different arrangement is found in the seventh century, which can be studied exactly in the splendid representations of Ashur-bani-pal's hunting-chariots. The driver still holds three reins in each hand, but none of these are connected with the horse's mouth. Instead, there is a single rein from the bit of each horse which runs back through a ring in the harness, and is tied almost taut to the front of the car (see pl. IX). Thus in driving, the charioteer did not pull at all upon the horses' heads, and they must have been guided by tugging the yoke, to which the reins were fastened, an operation in which considerable strength would be exerted, and this explains the necessity for triple reins. As for the single rein tied to the front of the car, this is probably to be explained as a stopping device; the driver could start and encourage the team with his voice, but in order to check them in full career he must have drawn on the horses' heads by this rein. Whether the guiding of Ashur-naṣir-pal's chariots was effected by a direct pull upon the horses' heads, as might seem to be indicated, or whether the yoke was turned in this case also, the sculptures do not make sufficiently clear. If the latter was the case, then the change introduced in the later period was the separation of the stopping from the guiding reins.

The original complement of a chariot was two, the driver

and the fighting man; this may be seen on the ancient Sumerian "standard" from Ur, in the Babylonian Room. At the time of Ashur-naṣir-pal and Shalmaneser it was still the same, except that in the chariot of the king and the highest officers there was generally a "third rider" (*shalshu rakbu*), whose business was to protect the principal occupant with his shield (Nimrūd Gallery, 7A), to take care, by holding on to the straps (Nimrūd Gallery, 12A), that he did not fall out in the jolting of the vehicle, to hold up the royal umbrella, and generally to minister to him in riding and fighting. The Israelites had a like officer with a like name: he was "a lord (lit. "third," *shalish*), on whose hand the king leaned,"¹ and it was perhaps by the aid of such an one that Ahab "was stayed up in his chariot against the Syrians"² when wounded in the battle at Ramoth-gilead. It might appear from the words of Jehu to his own *shalish* (II Kings, ix, 25) that he and Bidkar were the crew of the royal chariot in Ahab's reign; "remember how that, when I and thou rode together after Ahab his father, the Lord laid this burden upon him." The "third rider" does not accompany the king when hunting for he would only have hindered the swift turns necessitated by the attack of the quarry from behind. It is not until the reign of Ashur-bani-pal, when the chariots had become much larger and roomier, that four men are found riding together. In war the two additional riders carried shields, to protect the principal warrior and the driver, but in the chase they were armed with spears, and helped to dispatch lions, or one held the king's bow while he assumed the spear.

Next in order of distinction to the chariotry were the cavalry, which were probably not very numerous in the Assyrian army, as they were not in the forces of foreign states. At the battle of Qarqar, in 853 B.C., contingents of cavalry were furnished only by the wealthy cities of Damascus and Hamath, but there were none for example, in the large contingent of Israelites, probably because none were maintained, a state of things which seems to have continued in later times, when the Rab-shakeh taunted the emissaries of Hezekiah with the words "now therefore, I pray thee, give pledges to my

¹ II Kings, vii, 2, 17.

² I Kings, xxii, 35.

lord the king of Assyria, and I will deliver thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them."¹ Riding upon the back of animals was not, indeed, the primitive form of transport in the East, and in the early Sumerian period it is never represented; but single passengers sometimes rode on a two-wheeled saddle-chariot rather than mount the animal itself. Horsemen first appear in Assyria upon the Nimrûd sculptures, but had doubtless served in the army earlier, though there is no mention of them in former reigns. They may long have been considered unsuitable for military use owing to the unsteadiness of their seat, particularly for shooting, since they had not even stirrups, which were unknown to the Assyrians. This disadvantage, however, was overcome by use so effectually that the bow was the principal weapon of the cavalrman, as it was of the charioteer.

In the ninth century the horseman is furnished with the whole range of weapons; he has a spear, bow, arrows and quiver and a short sword, and for defence a pointed helmet and a small round target, the latter carried slung on the left shoulder. The horses are either bare-backed, or have a tasselled protection covering the whole back and breast, with a saddle-cloth as well. In order to shoot an arrow from horseback, the riders brought their knees up almost level with the back, to steady themselves, and they rode in pairs, so that the second man might hold the archer's rein while he aimed (see Nimrûd Gallery, 3A, 9A, and 16B2). This overloading with an assortment of arms, and the arrangement of riding in pairs, seem to disclose an early and inexperienced stage in the use of cavalry, and it is not surprising to find that the equipment was simplified as time went on. Horse-soldiers of Tiglath-pileser (Nimrûd Central Saloon, 118907) have already discarded all but the spear and the short sword, with a pointed helmet for defence, and this remained one of the standard types of equipment, save that the seventh-century sculptures show additional protection for the horses in an ample covering, perhaps made of leather, over which is sometimes thrown a saddle of quilted stuff. The other type of cavalry used in the late period was the mounted archers, who appear in number quite equal to the lancers, and were probably formed in separate squadrons.

¹ II Kings, xviii, 23.

Both wear pointed helmets with ear-pieces, are girt with a short sword, and often have on their legs the characteristic Assyrian half-hose, apparently quilted, sheathed in leather buskins, which are laced up over a wide tongue in front, and secured by several turns and a knot above the knee. These acted as greaves, and first appear in the reign of Sargon II, before which it was customary to go barefoot, or wearing at most sandals.

To give an account of the foot-soldiers, naturally the most numerous class, as they appear in the sculptures is much more difficult because of the variety of costumes and weapons which they display. In the Nimrûd sculptures they are not very prominent beside the chariots and cavalry, but nearly always appear armed with the bow and arrows, a short sword, a pointed helmet, and bare feet; the two archers shooting at the enemy swimming across a river on inflated skins (Nimrûd Gallery, 6A) are typical. In certain cases men on foot hold maces (*ibid.*, 9A, 13A) with lanyards at the end of the shaft, such as the king and his officers are seen bearing, but it is very likely that these are rather emblems of authority than actual weapons. Heavier infantry with shield, spear, short sword and helmet take part in the escalade of a city (13B), and two specially-armoured soldiers (14B) wield crowbars, demolishing the base of the wall; they wear a full-length coat of mail or some protective material, and a short cowl of the same, covering the lower part of the face and the shoulders. Men similarly accoutred are found standing beside the king and protecting him with a shield as he shoots.

The same broad division into bowmen and spearmen continues in the infantry of the later periods, but the spearmen become decidedly more prominent, and in both classes, particularly in the bowmen, there is a considerable diversity in the details of equipment. What may be regarded as the standard uniform of the Assyrian archer in the seventh century can be seen, for example, in the lowest register of 124958 in the Assyrian Basement; pointed metal helmet with ear-pieces, an armoured tunic over a garment almost knee-length, having a fringed pendent lappet on the right side, both bound with a broad girdle, in which the short sword is carried. Legs and feet are covered with the military half-length hose and laced

buskins, and the remaining arms are the bow and quiver of arrows. Archers sometimes assumed the spear for special duties, as escorting prisoners, but in fighting the spearmen were a class apart, though they fought in pairs with the archers, the one protecting the other with his shield, several illustrations of which are to be found in the battle against Te-umman in the Kuyûnjiḳ Gallery. All archers on the sculptures do not appear in the same guise, for there were doubtless different regiments of Assyrians and also the contingents of subject allies.

Even more diversity reigns among the spearmen, but their essential equipment was the long spear, shield, and short sword. The different shapes and sizes of shield are an interesting study; the most commonly used was long-shaped, convex, and with an arching top. Apart from the shields there are notable differences in the headgear, leather caps appearing beside the metal helmets. The latter often add a crest to the of plain point in the late period, generally a brush of hair on a sort of curved comb (Assyrian Basement, 124956, 124957). This kind decoration marks the helmets of the Uartians, or people of Armenia, as shown in the Bronze Gates of Shalmaneser, but it first appears in Assyria with Tiglath-pileser III (Assyrian Saloon, 118934), and a mounted figure of this reign (Nimrûd Central Saloon, 118905) wears a helmet with the comb, but without the crest. Some soldiers of Ashur-bani-pal (Assyrian Basement, 124923, 124924) wear feathers stuck in bands round their heads.

Other elements in the Assyrian army play but a very small part in the reliefs. Slingers are sometimes seen, especially helping to keep up the rain of missiles against besieged strongholds. They stand behind the bows and spears which press the assault up the mound against Lachish (Assyrian Saloon, 124904), a small pile of ammunition at their feet, and the answering volley of stones and bricks from the defenders shows how hotly the shooting was maintained. Engineers are hardly distinguishable, though some special skill must have been needed for such operations as river-crossings. Road-making in mountainous country was doubtless done by labour of the common soldiers, and so also was the demolition of walls or conquered places, which is several times depicted (*e.g.* Nimrûd Gallery, 14B, Assyrian Basement, 124919). It will be

observed that in the second example a weighted crowbar has been found more effective than the simple form used in the first, two centuries earlier.

While it is not possible, as already noticed, to gain from the sculptures any sufficient notion of how the Assyrians fought battles in the field, a host of details illustrates their conduct of sieges, a department of war in which they far excelled not only the Egyptians, but the Greeks of the Homeric, and even of the classical, period. Very rarely are long investments heard of and famine depended upon to bring about the fall of a city. The usual Assyrian method was direct assault, aided by a well-developed equipment and training for the purpose. The cities attacked naturally varied in size and strength, but the most important would probably be defended by a triple wall (118902 in the Nimrûd Central Saloon), strengthened with projecting bastions, and a moat. At a much earlier period than the Assyrian, there are particulars of a hill-town protected by a river and three successive walls of about 30, 45 and 66 feet high respectively, and the descriptions of the almost fabulous strength of Babylon in the sixth and fifth centuries are familiar. The sculptures amply illustrate such defences: Babylon itself rises in tier upon tier over the fleeing Elamites (Assyrian Basement, 124938); Khamanu, "a royal city of Elam," is captured, fired, and demolished (*ibid.*, 124919); an Egyptian city is assaulted and enslaved (*ibid.*, 124928); Lachish, and perhaps Jerusalem itself are besieged by Sennacherib (Assyrian Saloon and Kuyûnjik Gallery); the town of Madaktu is seen, partly in plan and partly in elevation (Kuyûnjik Gallery, 50; see pl. XVII); and, finally, there is an unknown town attacked by Ashur-našîr-pal (Nimrûd Gallery, 13B, 14B). The walls are often furnished with battlements, either simple triangles or stepped gables, and with one or two stories of casemates, which also appear sometimes along the walls. The bastions, in addition to these, had a projection outwards at the top in order to give space for the discharge of missiles, fire, and scalding liquids upon the heads of the besiegers, somewhat similar to the machicolation of the Middle Ages. Moreover, in time of need there was constructed upon the top of the bastions a wooden staging or gallery, projecting beyond the sides, and protected by round bosses, perhaps the shields of the defenders. The intervening

crest of the walls was also heightened and protected by a breastwork of similar construction ; all of these arrangements can be studied on the reliefs of Sennacherib in the Assyrian Saloon, showing the assault on Lachish, as well as in the other scenes mentioned above.

For the reduction of such strongholds the Assyrians were possessed of a highly-developed equipment and technique, which was, indeed, not very materially altered or improved upon by any nation until the invention of gunpowder. But the very mention of this draws attention at once to the most conspicuous gap in their armament ; there is no evidence, either in the sculptures or in the inscriptions, that they used any kind of artillery engines, which, indeed, seem not to have been introduced before the Hellenistic period. In general their methods are well described in the prophecy which encouraged the Jews against Sennacherib, " he shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shield, nor cast a bank against it,"¹ though the order of operations is, of course, not preserved there. The first step, if assault rather than circumvallation was intended, was to disable the besieged as far as possible from shooting, and even from showing themselves on the walls, and this could be done only by establishing a superiority of " fire." Thus the most conspicuous feature in every siege sculpture is the Assyrian bowmen and, to a less extent, the slingers, and it is in this operation alone that the king condescends to take part, for, if he ever led an assault, at least he is never depicted in such a situation. Assyrian arrows stick densely in the enemy's defences, and often transfix the unhappy defenders, who fall headlong from the walls or towers, in sad contrast with the Assyrians, who, if the sculptures could be believed, were never any the worse for all the bows bent against them and all the fire and missiles showered from the height of the walls. But not all of the enemy's shots fell short or went amiss, as is proved by the great shields, supported by a comrade, from behind which the Assyrian archer discharged his arrows. In the ninth century these were still of moderate size and carried on the arm, but by the time of Tiglath-pileser III they had become portable shelters, at first probably flat, with the top

¹ II Kings, xix, 32, Isaiah xxxvii, 33.

set back at right-angles to give head cover (Nimrûd Central Saloon, 118903), but later of convex shape, with the top bent back to a point (Kuyûnjik Gallery, 25). At all times they seem to have been made principally of reeds, with strengthening at the edges, but they were evidently heavy, and the most developed form is adapted to give the greatest protection with the utmost reduction of weight. Even so, they had to be supported by stout handles and loops. An ingenious use is being made of one by a soldier in the siege of an Egyptian town (Assyrian Basement, 124928) : he has rested the tip of his shield against the wall, and crouches under its shelter, demolishing the base of a tower.

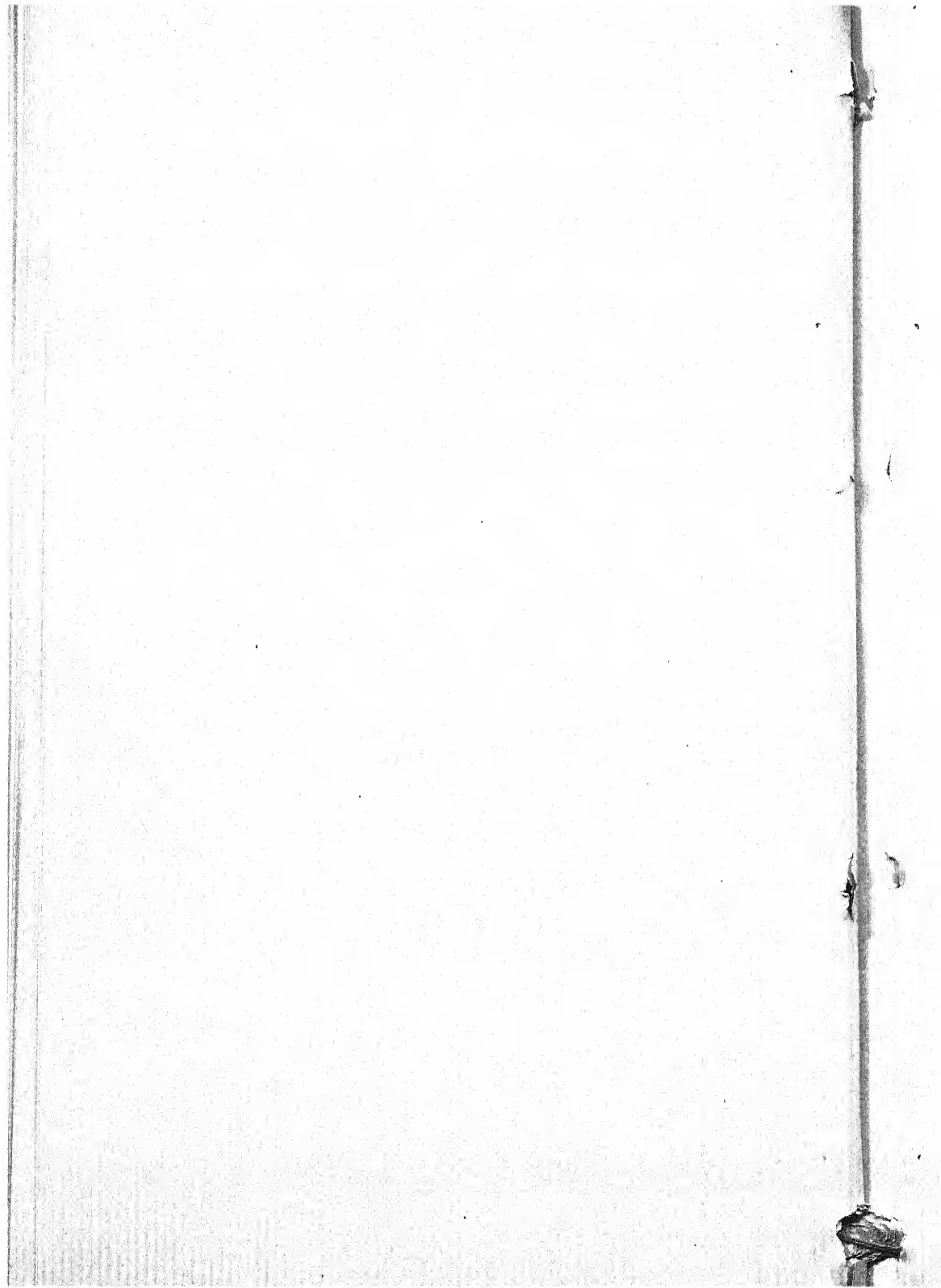
The enemy's "fire" having been quelled, the besiegers could approach the walls and proceed to the assault. In the most favourable circumstances the place might be carried by escalade, but this could be successful only if the defenders were greatly weakened. The sculptures generally show several operations proceeding at the same time—scaling, battering, and undermining the walls, but this must be generally ascribed to the usual desire to give a compendious picture of all the measures used in a siege. Sometimes men approach the gates, with shields held over their heads, and attempt to set fire to them (Assyrian Basement, 124928), or attack the base of the walls with crowbars, or undermine them (Nimrûd Gallery, 14B), either to gain entrance thus to the city or to cause the collapse of the wall. But more frequently breaches were made by the siege-engines, which was already in use under Ashurnasir-pal, and underwent little change. These ungainly machines are among the most characteristic features of the warlike scenes, and their varying details are worthy of attention. Mounted on four, or sometimes six, wheels is a body which somewhat resembles an animal, having a sharp rise at the front, as though it were the head. The essential structure was a wooden framework rising to its greatest height in front, where from a crossbar was suspended by chains a heavy rocking beam with an armoured and weighted end, to which, however, the ram-head (*aries*) had not yet been given. This could be drawn backwards to its full extent by men inside the framework, and then driven forward by their strength and its own weight, when, if the engine stood at a suitable distance, it

would deliver a heavy shock near the base of the wall, tending not merely to shatter the masonry but to shake down the upper part. The framework is always covered with a protective skin, which is decorated in various ways, and perhaps made of various materials, though hide, with some reinforcements, is most probably represented; in the siege of Lachish the covering can be seen fastened together by loops and pegs. Inside this worked the crew, as to the number of whom nothing is known; but it is manifest that in the sculptures these engines are made disproportionately small.

Such is the general construction, but there are several different types, and the Assyrians had different names for them. A peculiar form is shown on the bronze gates of Shalmaneser (see pl. X), a car with external wheels and an animal's head and snout, which looks more as if it were run bodily against the wall than worked by a rocking beam; but the representation is, perhaps, inexact. A more notable difference is found in the equipment of the wheeled engine with one or two spear-like projections instead of the battering beam (two of which are also borne sometimes in the same framework). From the length of these "spears" and the direction in which they point, it is clear that they were employed, not to breach the walls, but to destroy by an upward glancing blow the parapets and wooden galleries at the summit of the towers, and thus deprive the besieged of the cover from behind which they conducted the defence; this kind of machine and its work is very well shown in the Lachish sculptures. In the raised front of the engine there is generally room for one or two men—one an archer who shoots through a loophole and the other a man wielding a long-handled ladle, with which he constantly throws water over the front of the engine to preserve it from the firebrands which the enemy shower thickly upon it. Esarhaddon relates that once they thus succeeded in firing his engines and ramps in the night, but a providential veer of the wind carried the fire back towards the walls, which were gravely damaged by it. In some cases (*e.g.* Nimrûd Gallery, 14B) the water is poured out of two pipes from the front of a moving tower, which seems to be a superstructure upon the battering-ram. This relief shows most clearly of all the methods by which the besieged strove



Portion of one of the bronze bands from the gates of Shalmaneser III, King of Assyria from 859-824 B.C., representing an attack upon a city. In the upper register is seen the king seated in his pavilion; below is an Assyrian battering-ram in action. (See pp. 11, 42.)



to disable the engine ; as well as throwing fire, they try to raise the head of the beam by a stout chain, but two Assyrians have caught the chain in hooks, and hang with their whole weight upon it in order to pull it down.

The siege-engines approached the walls up a steep bank which had been thrown up by the besiegers, and provided with tracks made of the felled trunks of trees laid end to end and several deep. The construction of this bank and the timber tracks, and the bringing up of the siege-engines, were the most laborious, if not indeed the most dangerous, of siege operations, and reference is made to this by the words of Ezekiel (xxix, 18) : " Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus : every head was made bald and every shoulder was peeled." In another age Julius Cæsar relates that his soldiers at the siege of Avaricum in Gaul raised in twenty-five days an *agger* 330 feet broad and 80 feet high. This was largely composed of timber, for the besieged set fire to it by mining, and the same material was evidently used also by the Assyrians when the district afforded it in plenty, as is shown by the passage in Esarhaddon noticed above, which describes how the enemy also set fire to his works. But the usual arrangement is depicted by the sculptures of the siege of Lachish, where the siege-engines are pushed up a steep bank of earth over log tracks, and followed by archers and storming parties. The sculptures never depict soldiers actually propelling the engines forward, and it is possible that they were moved by men inside, though this does not appear. Various accounts of sieges occur in the inscriptions, and comparison with these reveals again the extraordinary care of the Assyrian artists to represent in their sculptures, as far as possible, every detail of the normal tactics.

SCENES OF THE CHASE.

Hunting ranked next only to warfare in ancient oriental notions of what was suitable to a king or, at any rate, suitable to be recorded about him, and therefore takes a prominent place in the Assyrian sculptures and inscriptions. Tiglath-pileser I has related with great pride the tale of elephants, wild-oxen and lions which he slew or captured on the plains of Northern Mesopotamia. Those taken alive were brought

by him, as by other Assyrian kings, to the capital and there preserved in "zoological gardens" with other kinds of wild creatures for the amusement of the king, to which the vulgar were also admitted. Novelties of this sort were so much in favour that they were often brought as presents by subject princes of outlandish parts, and were always secure of a welcome. How they were kept in captivity and tamed can be seen in two reliefs of Ashur-bani-pal (Nos. 118914 and 118916, in the Assyrian Saloon). On one a lion, looking back, peaceably walks beside two harpists, under the spell of their music, while the other slab preserves a corner of a real "zoological garden," with lion and lioness in a covert of cypresses, palms, vines, and tall lilies and daisies. Ashur-naṣir-pal II was another mighty hunter who celebrated his prowess in his inscriptions, but immortalized them also in sculptures which still exist, and are now to be seen in the Nimrūd Gallery (Nos. 3A, 4A, 36), representing the chase of wild-oxen and lions. In both the scheme is alike; the king despatches from his chariot one of a pair of the beasts, the first of which lies dead under the galloping feet of the horses, while the second leaps upon the hunters from behind. The actual conditions imposed by the nature of the quarry are faithfully observed, for the bull is goaded on to the principal hunter by a mounted man (*picador*) who pricks it with his spear, and is finally slain with a sword-thrust at the point which the *espada* still aims at, though it seems that the beast has been caught by a noose round the horns. It is possible that the animal, which lies prostrate under the horses' feet, represents the cow, which has been slain by arrows discharged in the pursuit, while the fiercer animal is left unwounded, to fall a victim in the close combat with the king.

In several respects the lion-hunt is different; the "beaters" are on foot, not mounted, for so they would be at a disadvantage against the lion; the beast himself is already wounded by three arrows, and is to receive his dispatch from a last arrow shot point-blank into the eye. This was not, however, the only way of hunting lions practised by Assyrian kings, for Tiglath-pileser I says that he slew no less than 120 lions on foot, and this hazardous sport is depicted on the sculptures of Ashur-bani-pal, 124875, 124876 and 124886 in the

Assyrian Saloon Gallery. Here the king appears at grips with the lion, which he transfixes with a sword (124875), shoots at close quarters with an arrow (in which event he is always accompanied by a man with shield and spear, 124876, 124886), or finally grasps the furious beast by the tail and smashes its head with a mace. The last feat, of almost incredible daring and address, was evidently the acme of the hunter's prowess, for it is proudly announced in the accompanying inscription. This "epigraph" is but one of many that will be observed in different places of the sculptures; they all refer to objects standing, or incidents happening, in their close neighbourhood, and testify once more to the anxiety of the artists that everything should be as recognizable and "life-like" as they could possibly make it.

The last-mentioned sculptures introduce the most celebrated monuments of Assyrian art now in existence, the hunting-scenes of Ashur-bani-pal, which occupy the greater part of the walls round the gallery of the Assyrian Saloon. The wall on the far side from the entrance is mostly taken up with a procession of servants leading hounds and sumpter-animals, and carrying nets, stakes, and cords for the snaring of smaller game, such as the fallow-deer (124871, 124873). These are all notable figures and there are many details well worthy of attention; the arrangement of the animal's packs, the powerful and savage hounds, the method of fastening their collars (buckles being unknown), and the hare and small birds in their nests carried in the hands of attendants (124889). The end slab on this wall is occupied with Ashur-bani-pal's combats on foot with lions, and the celebrated libation-ceremony over the dead bodies of four of them. This slab is divided into narrow registers, and the figures are correspondingly small, an arrangement which is continued in the sculptures along the end wall of the saloon. Lion hunting on foot and horseback, with various weapons, is still the subject, but the lowest register preserves the scenes of the chase after gazelle and wild-asses. In both cases a party of beaters has worked its way to the far side of the herd, and drives it towards the royal sportsman advancing at full speed towards them. The precise observation of the animals' attitudes in checking and starting backwards, in falling transfixed, or being pulled down by the hounds, and the

technical skill with which that observation is rendered are alike contributory to making this one of the acknowledged masterpieces of animal sculpture.

The eastern wall is taken up in its full length by a line of slabs which are held to be the supreme achievement of Assyrian art, scenes of Ashur-bani-pal's hunting of lions from his chariot in a special arena at Nineveh, to which the beasts were brought in captivity. There are two separate *ensembles* here. From the entrance up to 124857 the chariot is seen twice, turned in opposite directions as though meeting, an arrangement which not only aims at symmetry of composition but is, perhaps, intended to show how the king drives from one side of the arena to the other and back again in his pursuit of the multitude of lions. The left end, by the entrance, is obviously incomplete; it was probably continued with the figures of two or more mounted "whippers in," as on the right. In the group nearest the entrance a lion is slain by the king with a short sword just as he has vainly leapt with all four paws against the high tailboard of the chariot. This attachment is best seen in position on 124867, and on 124858 one of the crew is fastening the strap by which it was secured. The other chariot-group shows a lion which has caught, in its blind fury, the swiftly-turning wheel. About the field behind are strewn lions dead or dying, among them such well-known examples as the lioness with her crippled train, the sitting lion belching blood, and on the extreme right, above the riders, the mortally wounded beast toppling slowly over to his left, the left front paw sagging with weakness.

The remainder of this wall (124858-124870; see pl. XVIII) presents a still more comprehensive picture, not only the actual hunt, but the surroundings and circumstances in which it was organized. The essential parts are two enclosures separated by a thickly-wooded mound surmounted by a great monument, which bears a miniature sculpture of the conventional lion-hunt scene. It seems likely that this artificial mound thus designated was made for the express purpose of viewing the sport, and may therefore be regarded as a "stand." At least it is so used by a number of excited figures, some of whom have climbed the trees, and point to what is going on at a distance below and away from them. Here an enclosure of screens on poles is

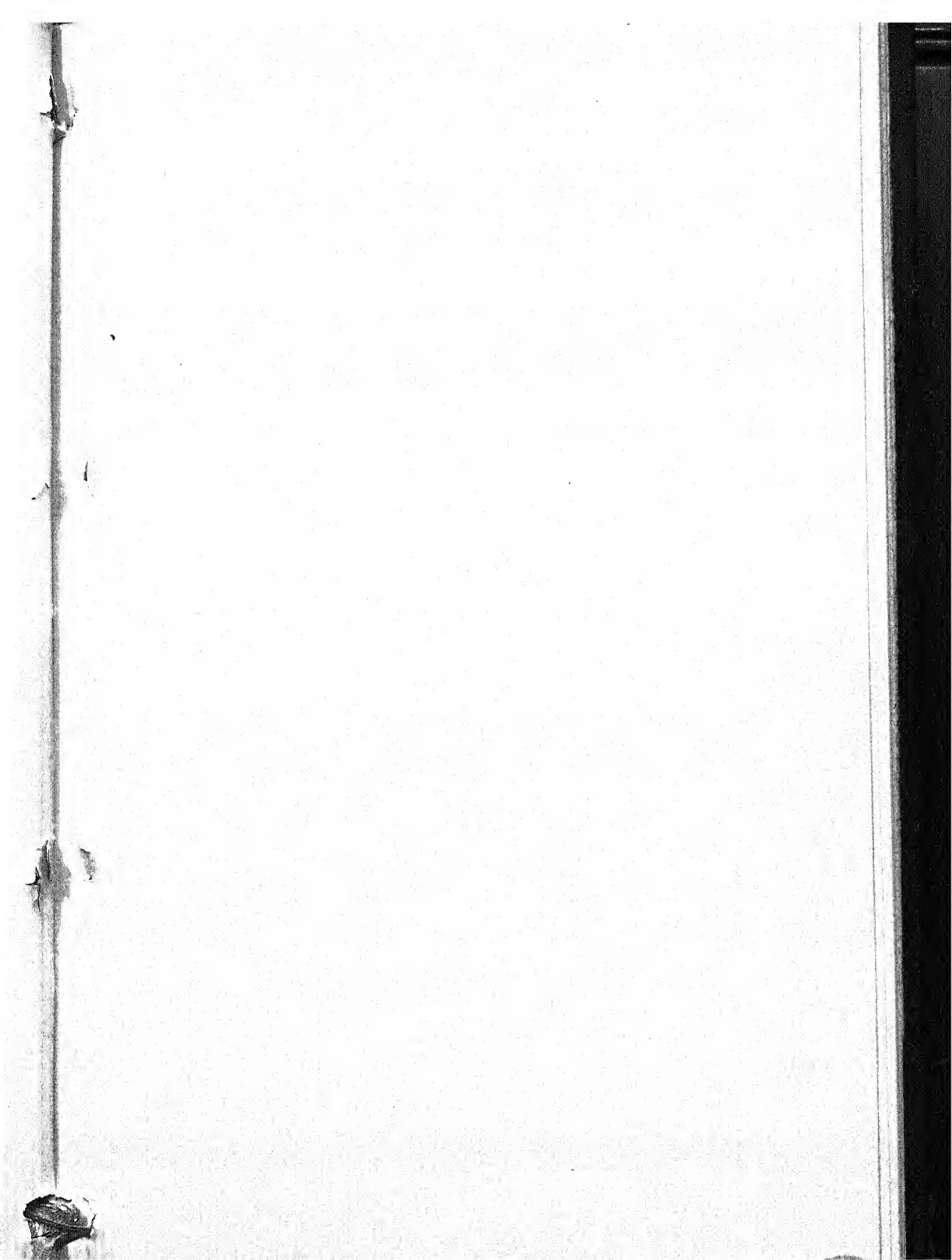


PLATE XI.



Relief sculptured with two figures of Ashur-nasir-pal II, King of Assyria from 883 to 859 B.C., attended by winged figures, performing rites before a "sacred tree." Above the tree appears a god within a winged disk.

[Nimrud Gallery, 2.]

(See pp. 22, 48, 51, 55.)

supported by beardless youths, who carry sticks under their unoccupied arms. In the middle of this enclosure is the royal chariot, to which the horses are being yoked, and into which the king has just mounted and is receiving his weapons. The whole group is of the highest elaboration, and there is, in particular, fine observation of the horse being backed into its place; the head is thrown up, the hind-quarters are slightly down, and the forefeet raised upon the edge of the hooves. Other horses are being brought up between two lines of guards, but they are not required, and are turned back by an officer. On the other side of the mound is the actual arena, a square of which two opposite sides only are seen. The square is formed by a double line of soldiers, spearmen with great shields in front and archers behind. Both of these stand "at ease," the spearmen with their shields and spear-points resting on the ground, the archers with the unoccupied hand laid on the wrist of that which carries the bow; here is evidently a piece of Assyrian military drill. In front of the cordon there stand at intervals other guards with spears, each holding in leash one of the usual massive hounds. Within this area the savage sport is in full swing, and on the extreme right is the stout timber cage, pegged to the ground, from which the lions are released by an attendant who is himself protected from their fury within a smaller cage above. In the whole of this admirable series, so accomplished is the technical skill and so supreme the artistic sense that the exact attention to detail which is everywhere manifest, so far from impairing, seems only to enhance the life and vigour of the picture.

SCULPTURES OF RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE.

Something has been already said about the gigantic winged creatures placed at the sides of doorways, which are the most striking representatives of religious sculpture, and also about the stelæ on which the king is portrayed in an attitude of worship. Besides these, however, there are many sculptured slabs, the subject of which is not the triumphs of the king, but the operations of certain divine beings, or the performance of ceremonies (see pl. XI). Not very much is seen of the principal gods,

with the exception of Ashur¹ himself, who appears in a winged disk over the king; there is also a procession of captured gods in a mutilated relief of Tiglath-pileser III (Assyrian Saloon, 118934). The appearances of Ashur as the tutelary god of the king are all on monuments of the ninth century, and they are of great interest as showing the direct inspiration which the king supposed himself to derive from the deity. Whether the god is drawing his bow against the enemy (Nimrûd Gallery, 7A, 15A), holding his bow downwards and raising the right hand, apparently in a gesture of acclamation for victory (13A), or standing with arm raised in an attitude of expectation (11B), the king exactly imitates his gesture. In the last example the god bears a ring in place of the king's bow, and in the great panel (2, see pl. XI), where the god hovers over a tree, his attitude is apparently one of blessing, which may be intended to express his granting of the king's desire as expressed in the ceremony beside the tree. The god in the winged disk is represented on the painted brick of Tukulti-Enurta II, the father of Ashur-naşir-pal (No. 115706 in the Assyrian Room), but after the reign of the latter he almost completely disappears from the royal monuments.

Besides the figures of gods and the scenes enacted by winged creatures, of which something will be said later, there are a few representations of religious ceremonies which occur incidentally in the course of the king's activities in war and peace. Thus there is the libation over victims of the chase, offered by Ashur-bani-pal on the slab already noticed (Assyrian Saloon, 124886, see pl. XII) and a similar subject appears among the sculptures of Ashur-naşir-pal in the Nimrûd Gallery, 3B and 4B; here the king is shown refreshing himself after the chase, the libation having doubtless been poured before he drank. The earlier king performs this rite in the presence of high officers as well as his personal attendants. The cup-bearer who stands before him drives away flies from the royal bowl with a whisk, and holds in the left hand one end of a long napkin thrown over his shoulder ready to proffer to the king after his draught. This officer is prominent on the Assyrian reliefs,

¹ That the god in the winged disk represented Ashur is a probable assumption, but is not actually attested. Some hold that he is rather the Sun-god.

PLATE XII.



Ashur-bani-pal, King of Assyria from 668 to 626 B.C., pouring a libation over lions slain in the chase. He is attended by two musicians, two pages, and an arms-bearer.

(See pp. 44, 48f., 73.)

[Assyrian Saloon, 124886.]

but is nowhere better shown than in the court-pieces of Ashur-naṣir-pal, on the eastern side of the Nimrūd Gallery, where, on No. 21, he has a richly-ornamented filler to replenish the king's cup, as well as his characteristic fly-whisk and long napkin. The employment of cup-bearer at an Oriental court was, of course, by no means a menial office, but on the contrary was discharged by one of the principal favourites, who, in Assyria, was often entrusted with high military command. On one of the most celebrated occasions in Assyrian history, at the siege of Jerusalem under Hezekiah, the Rab-shakeh (that is, *rab shake*, the chief cupbearer) was in charge of the besieging army, or at least of the publicly-conducted negotiations, in which he delivered the blasphemous harangue for which he is famous.¹ The "Tartan" (*turtanu*) and "Rabsaris" (*rab sha rêshi*) mentioned on this occasion were other high Assyrian commanders, who are probably to be seen in various sculptures of the King's *entourage*, though they cannot be precisely identified. Ashur-bani-pal pouring his libation over the four lions (see pl. XII) is accompanied only by attendants, an arms-bearer, and two pages with doubled napkins and fly-whisks in hand.

Both of these kings listen to the music of two harpists, who touch the strings with open fingers and plectrum. Similar musicians are to be seen on the fragment 124948 in the Assyrian Basement, where one of each pair wears a tall fish-tail hat; there are more of these on the fragment 124923 in the same room. It is very probable that both their guise and the celebration in which they are partaking have a religious significance which is not now explicable. The harps carried by these performers were not the only musical instruments known to the Assyrians, for among other types may be mentioned the vertically-strung harps carried by some members of the "mixed orchestra" of Elamites (Kuyûnjik Gallery, 49, 50), and in the pleasure-garden of Ashur-bani-pal (Assyrian Basement, 124920), where a cone-shaped drum is beaten by another musician. Other Elamites in the relief mentioned above play upon the double flute, and three foreign lyrists perform under the eye of an Assyrian officer on the fragment of a slab, No. 124947 in the Assyrian Basement. But most remarkable of all is the instrument to the music of which two strangely-attired actors

¹ II Kings, xviii, 17, ff.

dance, with uncouth gestures, in a scene which may also be supposed to have some religious implication (Nimrûd Gallery, 11A). The instrument is a kind of guitar or mandoline with very long neck, the strings of which are stopped by the left hand and plucked by the right; the dancers wear lion masks, one claps his hands, the other holds a whip, and puts his left hand up to his jaw.

Although it is not possible to say what is the meaning of this ceremony, or what connexion it has with the presentation of prisoners, seen below, the guise of the dancers is most similar to that of certain figures, of large size, on other slabs which are placed in the ante-room of the Assyrian Saloon. Most prominent among these (Nos. 118911, 118912, 118917, 118918, 118932) are lion-men, armed with a dagger and a mace. In the first two of these slabs the monsters are represented as though contending with each other, the menacing attitude of the individual figures being in all cases the same. In the last three slabs the lion-man follows an unarmed figure making a peculiar gesture, and in two of them is himself followed by another who holds, or rather touches with both hands, an upright spear. With these figures are to be compared the three divinities on 124918 of the Assyrian Basement, armed with small battle-axes and broad daggers. In all cases the purpose of these sculptures is no doubt apotropaic—that is, they represent beings whose function is, like that of the winged bulls and lions at the doorways, to frighten away by their threatening mien all evil powers which might approach the palace. That such is really their purpose is confirmed by the presence on 118911 of a lion-centaur, clearly belonging to the family of the guardian bulls and lions. To the same class may be assigned the fish-man represented on the wall of the Nimrûd Gallery, the combat on slabs 28 and 29, and possibly the very curious and problematical slab, No. 19 (see pl. XIII), commonly described as a picture of foreigners bringing gifts. It is, in fact, much to be suspected that here also a religious or magical ceremony is being performed, for the same figure leading two monkeys in exactly the same manner is found upon small clay reliefs of various ages, which can have had nothing to do with bringing of tribute, and in this relief itself the preceding figure is strangely costumed, and evidently in some hieratic posture.



Relief from the palace of Ashur-naṣir-pal II (883-859 B.C.) at Calah (Nimrūd), sculptured with the figures of strangely-attired men, the second of whom brings with him two apes.

Whether this ritual was also aimed against the assault of demons is not at present possible to say.

The forms of some of these protective figures are described in certain ritual texts which dictate the magical means by which devils may be defeated. Thus the threatening lion-men on the slabs named above were generally made of tamarisk wood, "figures of the 'great lion' painted with red—in their right hand a copper dagger, in their left a mace." Traces of red paint, as already observed, are clearly discernible on some of these figures, as the prescription orders. The fish-man in the Nimrûd Gallery are required to be fashioned thus, "painted with gypsum [*i.e.* white], cloaked in the skin of a fish, holding in their right hands the date-spathe and with the left holding their breasts." Others are described as having the heads and wings of birds, and carrying various cult objects; examples of these are frequent in the sculptures. Finally, the three forms on the fragment 124918 in the Assyrian Basement are the survivors of an original seven, which were to be clad in the head-dress and apparel proper to them, painted red, carrying in their right hands an axe of copper, in their left a copper dagger, their waists girdled with a band of copper, and a horned cap of the same on their heads; the description, again, tallies entirely. From the text in which these descriptions occur it may be gathered that the latter group are "the divine Seven, the great gods," while most of the other figures are divers forms of the seven *apkallu* or "sages," who were believed to have lived before the great deluge, and to have had revealed to them the secrets of magic.

It is, therefore, to be supposed that all the monstrous figures of "genii" are in some fashion connected with the same order of ideas, namely, the securing of safety and prosperity to the building and its inhabitants by the visible presence of beneficent powers. So far as these have the office of driving away demoniac influences, their function is now well understood. But there are also certain sculptures, especially those which include the "sacred tree" (see pl. XI), a highly artificial creation well seen on Nos. 2 and 37-39 of the Nimrûd Gallery, of which the purport is not fully made out. It has been suggested that the figures bearing a cone and a small pail which stand beside the tree and seem to touch it with their cones are carrying



out an operation which is known to be essential to the successful production of dates from the date-palm, that is, applying the male inflorescence to the flowers of the female tree, so that these may be fertilised by the pollen. The male inflorescence has somewhat the shape of the cones held by these genii (though they have more often been regarded as pine-cones), and this explanation would well suit the cases in which the figure with cone and pail is touching the tree. Moreover, there is textual evidence, noticed above, that some of these magical figures carried the date-spathe, and there is also a sculpture (II7110) from Tell Halaf in northern Mesopotamia, which shows a man who has climbed up a ladder to the head of a palm apparently carrying out this operation. Nevertheless, this interpretation encounters great difficulties, for, first, the "sacred tree" is manifestly no natural tree, though its leaves have the form of palmettes, but an artificial object. Further, the genii do not always smear it with their cones, but sometimes pluck it (No. 37A), or else it is female figures which stand beside it (37B), or even the king (2). The fertilization, too, in practice is not done by merely wiping off the pollen on to the flower, but by tying the male inflorescence beside the flower. And, most remarkable of all, it is not usually the tree at all which the genii touch with their cones, but the king (2), or his hand (24, 25), or his minister (21), or his bow (23). In view of all this, it is hardly possible to maintain the idea that the ceremony, admittedly magical, is simply the repetition of a particular detail in palm culture, especially as it might also be added that Assyria is now, and probably always was, outside the region in which palms are productive of dates.

Everything, on the contrary, goes to show that the "tree" is rather the source than the recipient of a magical virtue. Alike those who pluck it, and those who touch it with their cones, the goddesses who hold towards it chaplets of fertility-symbols, the king who makes towards it a ritual gesture of the hand, and the god in the winged disk who seems to dispense blessings from above it, agree in suggesting that a powerful influence radiates from the sacred branches, and is conveyed by the touch of the cones, dipped in a lustral fluid contained in the small pails. When the king's person, accoutrements, and servants are so touched the magic is conveyed to them, so that

PLATE XIV.



Relief from the palace of Ashur-nasir-pal II (883-859 B.C.) at Calah (Nimrūd), sculptured with the figure of a priest wearing wings and carrying a goat and an ear of barley.

[Nimrūd Gallery, 18.]

(See pp. 14, 53, 58.)

they are immune from disaster and endowed with supernatural force. Thus it seems possible to distinguish a class of "genii" mostly represented in some connexion with the sacred tree, from the armed and menacing figures whose duty it was to frustrate the incursion of fiends. These other beings, among whom might be reckoned the human-headed bringers of herds and fruits (see pl. XIV), seem rather to be winged messengers of strength and healing, with the implied accompaniment of plenty and "prosperity for the harvests of Assyria," like the winged divinities who, on earlier monuments, descend from heaven with jars of water to pour out upon and quicken the earth.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ASSYRIAN SCULPTURES
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[References are generally to the first, or the most convenient, publication. Where pl. stands alone it refers to the plates in this brochure. The following abbreviations are used:—

Mon. = A. H. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, I and II.

A.S. = E. A. W. Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum, reign of Ashur-naṣir-pal*.

P.S. = A. Paterson, *The Palace of Sinacherib*.]

UNCERTAIN.

Nimrūd Central Saloon.

118898. "The Broken Obelisk." The inscription may refer to Tiglath-pileser I, but the monument is not his; Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, p. li. See p. 9.

ASHUR-BEL-KALA, 1068-1062 B.C.

Assyrian Room.

124963. Mutilated female statue, with inscription across the back; H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*, XI. See pp. 9, 15.

ASHUR-NAṢIR-PAL.

Assyrian Transept, West.

118807. Obelisk from Kuyûnjik. Small sculptures in eight registers on each of the four sides, with an inscription at the top of two adjoining sides. The scenes represent marches, battles, sieges, and reception of tribute, sacrifices, and hunting; H. Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, opp. p. 10; E. Unger, *Der Obelisk des Königs Assurnassirpal I aus Ninive*, Tafeln I-XVII. See pp. 9, 17, 20.

ASHUR-NAṢIR-PAL II, 883-859 B.C.

Assyrian Transept, West.

118801. Winged human-headed lion, facing right; *A.S.*, IV. See p. 13.

118802. Winged human-headed lion, facing left; pl. XV.

118803. Winged human-headed and horned figure, with right hand raised, holding a branch in the left hand, facing right; cf. *Mon.*, I, 38a.



Colossal winged and human-headed lion from a doorway in the palace of Ashur-naṣir-pal II (883-859 B.C.) at Nimrūd.

118804. Winged eagle-headed figure, with bucket and cone, facing left and standing between two "sacred trees"; similar to A.S., XLV.

118805. Great round-topped stele with a long historical inscription. The front shows the king, facing left, with his right hand raised in a gesture of worship towards emblems of the gods; *Mon.*, II, 4; A.S., II, III. See pp. 1, 16.

118806. Three-legged stone altar with round top, which originally stood as it does now in front of the great stele; *Mon.*, II, 4; A.S., p. 22. Cf. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, opp. p. 351. See p. 16.

118800. Fragments of a black basalt obelisk, with scenes in registers showing the reception of tribute by the king from various conquered lands, as on the Black Obelisk in the Nimrûd Central Saloon. On the right of the front face, near the bottom, are scales in which the tribute is being weighed.

118870. Stone pedestal with socket for a cult-object, and an inscription dedicating it to the god Enlil; A.S., VII, 1. See p. 8.

Nimrûd Gallery.

1. Four-winged human figure facing left, right hand raised, carrying a mace in left hand; A.S., X.

2. Great relief panel in frame representing two figures of the king on either side of a "sacred tree," surmounted by the god in the winged disk. Behind each of the royal figures is an attendant in human form, but winged, touching the king with a cone and carrying the bucket in the other hand; pl. XI, *Mon.*, I, 25; A.S., XI. See pp. 22, 48, 51 f.

3a. The king in his chariot killing a wild bull; *Mon.*, I, 11; A.S., XII, 1. See pp. 36, 44.

3b. The king refreshing himself after the chase of a wild bull; *Mon.*, I, 12; A.S., XIX, 1. See p. 48.

4a. The king in his chariot hunting lions; *Mon.*, I, 10; A.S., XII, 2. See pp. 14, 44.

4b. The king refreshing himself after the chase of a lion; A.S., XIX, 2. See p. 48.

5a. A siege-engine battering the wall of a besieged city; behind it, the king shooting against the defenders; *Mon.*, I, 17; A.S., XIII, 1.

5b. The king receiving his officers, who bring captives and spoil; *Mon.*, I, 23; *A.S.*, XX, 1.

6a. Three fugitives crossing a river on inflated skins, and Assyrian pursuers shooting at them; *Mon.*, I, 33; *A.S.*, XIII, 2. See p. 37.

6b. Captives brought before the king by Assyrian officers and soldiers. Above their heads are shown vessels, tusks of ivory, and other objects representing the booty captured; *Mon.*, I, 24; *A.S.*, XX, 2. See p. 22.

7a. The king in his chariot, preceded by the god in the winged disk, charging the enemy's archers; *A.S.*, XIV, 1. See pp. 35, 48.

7b. The royal chariot being embarked to cross a river, accompanied by soldiers swimming or blowing up skins to support them in the water; *Mon.*, I, 16; *A.S.*, XXI, 1. See pp. 27, 33.

8a. Assyrian bowmen, in chariots bearing standards, charging the enemy; *Mon.*, I, 27; *A.S.*, XIV, 2. See p. 32.

8b. Boats carrying chariots and equipment, horses swimming, and men upon inflated skins, crossing a river; *A.S.*, XXI, 2. See p. 33.

9a. Assyrian cavalry attacking the enemy, followed by archers above whom a bird of prey is flying; *Mon.*, I, 26; *A.S.*, XV, 1. See pp. 27, 36 f.

9b. The king standing in his chariot, which is in a boat being drawn and propelled across a river. His horses swim behind, their halters held by a man in the boat. Another man floats across upon an inflated skin; *Mon.*, I, 15; *A.S.*, XXII, 1. See p. 33.

10a. Young Assyrian warrior in chariot charging and shooting at the enemy. Above the horses flies a bird of prey, and in front Assyrian foot-soldiers slay their opponents; *A.S.*, XV, 2.

10b. Assyrian chariots bearing standards, and ridden by the charioteers only, passing the ramparts of a city or camp, from which they are acclaimed by women; *A.S.*, XXII, 2. See p. 33.

11a. Scene in the Assyrian camp: preparing the king's meal, grooming and watering his horses. At the entrance to the pavilion an officer receives four captives escorted by a soldier. Above, two men attend in the dining hall.

perform a dance, accompanied by a stringed instrument ; *Mon.*, I, 30 ; *A.S.*, XVI, 1. See pp. 22, 50.

11*b*. The king, followed by an attendant holding his sunshade, and by his chariot, gives orders to an officer. The god in the winged disk appears above and in front of the king ; *A.S.*, XXIII, 1. See p. 48.

12*a*. A scene of triumph—chariots with standards returning from a battle, and soldiers flourishing heads of the slain and dancing to the music of two harps ; *Mon.*, I, 22 ; *A.S.*, XVI, 2. See pp. 32 f., 35.

12*b*. [Painting of a sculpture, which is not preserved.]

13*a*. The king in his chariot, with a sunshade over him, returning from battle preceded by the god in the winged disk, and followed by cavalry and foot-soldiers ; *Mon.*, I, 21 ; *A.S.*, XVII, 1. See pp. 37, 48.

13*b*. The king, protected by a shield and his sunshade, shooting an arrow against a city which his troops are undermining and scaling. Behind him captive women and children, and also cattle, are being taken away ; *Mon.*, I, 20 ; *A.S.*, XXIII, 2. See pp. 37, 39.

14*a*. Assyrian chariots with standards overthrowing the enemy's chariots. They are accompanied by foot-soldiers, and the headless corpses of the enemy lie among desert bushes ; *Mon.*, I, 14 ; *A.S.*, XVII, 2. See pp. 31, 33.

14*b*. Siege of a city ; on the left men in mail coats are demolishing a wall with crowbars ; in the middle the city is being undermined and attacked by a battering-ram and tower. The besieged attempt to set fire to this, but it is drenched with water from two pipes, and a chain with which the besieged try to secure the battering beam is caught with hooks by two Assyrian soldiers. On the right, an officer behind a shield shoots at the defenders ; *Mon.*, I, 19 ; *A.S.*, XXIV, 1. See pp. 25, 37 ff., 41 f.

15*a*. The king in his chariot, with the god in the winged disk above, overthrowing a hostile chariot, and approaching the walls of a city, while his soldiers slay the enemy among the trees and bushes ; *Mon.*, I, 13 ; *A.S.*, XVIII, 1. See p. 48.

15*b*. Two soldiers in mail coats one of whom shoots from behind a spike-studded shield held up by the other. Behind them is a chariot with driver awaiting its crew, and two

soldiers with uplifted maces at the back. Above, a bird of prey seizes upon a corpse ; *Mon.*, I, 18 ; *A.S.*, XVIII, 2.

16a (1), 16b (2). The king in his chariot, with sunshade over, traversing rocky country. Behind him are two followers on foot, and one mounted, leading a spare horse ; *A.S.*, XXV. See p. 36.

16b (1). The king in his chariot charging the enemy's cavalry, who flee along the bank of a river, turning to shoot their arrows ; *A.S.*, XXIV, 2.

17. A human figure, winged, facing right, carrying in the left hand a branch with palmettes, and holding a dappled stag in the right arm ; *A.S.*, XXVI. See p. 53.

18. A human figure, winged, facing left, carrying in the right hand an ear of barley, and holding a goat in the left arm ; pl. XIV, *A.S.*, XXVII. See pp. 14, 53.

19. Figures of two men in peculiar costume, advancing towards the left. The first is in a slightly crouching attitude, and holds up both hands clenched with the thumbs extended ; the second leads one monkey and carries another perched on his shoulder. These men are probably taking part in a religious ceremony of uncertain significance ; pl. XIII, *Mon.*, I, 40 ; *A.S.*, XXVIII. See p. 50.

20. Standing figure of Ashur-naṣir-pal, facing left, holding in his right hand a long staff which rests upon the ground ; *Mon.*, I, 34 ; *A.S.*, XXIX.

21, 22, 23. Court scene ; the king enthroned, drinking a draught which is offered by his cupbearer, who stands before him with a napkin over his shoulder and a fly-whisk in his hand. Behind the king stand two archer guards, and on either side of the group is one of the winged figures with cone and bucket, bestowing a magical virtue upon the royal attendants and their arms ; *Mon.*, I, 5 ; *A.S.*, XXX-XXXII. See pp. 22, 28, 49, 52.

24, 25. The king stands with his bow resting on the ground and two arrows in the other hand, between the two magical winged figures with cone and bucket ; pl. XVI, *A.S.*, XXXIII, XXXIV. See pp. 22, 28, 52.

25, 26. Similar group of the king between two attendants, but holding a bowl instead of arrows. His cupbearer, with fly-whisk and napkin, stands before him and an archer guard, with mace, behind ; *A.S.*, XXXIV, XXXV. See pp. 22, 28.



Relief from the palace of Ashur-naṣir-pal II (883-859 B.C.) at Nimrūd, showing the king holding bow and arrows, followed by a winged figure with cone and bucket.

27. Human figure, without wings or horns, having a branch in the left hand. This figure stood outside an entrance, of which the two following slabs formed one side; *Mon.*, II, 5; *A.S.*, XXX VI. Cf. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, opp. p. 351.

28, 29. A hideous winged demon with lion-head and eagle's claws being driven out from a temple, at the door of which these slabs stood, by a winged deity in human form who bears the lightning-fork in his hands; *Mon.* II, 5; *A.S.*, XXXVII. See pp. 14, 50.

30. Human figure with cone and bucket, wearing the skin of a fish. This and a similar slab (29*) stood on the inside of the doorway, outside of which were Nos. 27 and 32; *Mon.*, II, 6. See p. 50.

31. Winged human figure with a branch in the left hand; *A.S.*, XXXVIII, 1.

32. Similar figure, unwinged, which faced No. 27, on the opposite side of a doorway; *A.S.*, XXXIX, 1.

33. Winged, eagle-headed figure, with cone and bucket; *A.S.*, XL.

34. Part of a similar figure, facing the other way; *A.S.*, XXXIX, 2.

35. Female figure with four wings and horned head-dress, wearing a necklace of charms and carrying a chaplet of bead amulets; *A.S.*, XLI.

36. Lion-hunting scene; *Mon.*, I, 31; *A.S.*, XLII, 1. See p. 44.

37a. Two winged figures with horned head-dresses plucking or touching the leaves of a "sacred tree"; *Mon.*, I, 7; *A.S.*, XLIII. On the "sacred tree" see pp. 51 f.

37b. Two female figures (like No. 35) standing on either side of a "sacred tree"; *Mon.*, I, 7; *A.S.*, XLII, 2. See p. 52.

38a.—Fragment showing the head and arm of a human figure, facing left, holding up a branch; [cf. *Mon.*, I, 34, 1].

38b. Two winged eagle-headed figures with cones, touching a "sacred tree"; *A.S.*, XLIV.

39, 40. The king, holding up his right hand, standing between two winged eagle-headed figures who touch him with their cones. On the left, behind one of the figures, is the "sacred tree"; *A.S.*, XLV, XLVI.

41. Winged human figure with bucket and cone, facing left; *A.S.*, XLVII.

Nimrûd Central Saloon.

118873. Winged human-headed lion from a doorway ; *Mon.*, I, 3. See p. 14.

118876. Winged human figure facing right, with branch in left hand ; *A.S.*, XLVIII, 1.

118877. Winged human figure facing right, with cone and bucket ; *A.S.*, XLVIII, 2.

118883. Round-topped stele, similar to that in the Assyrian Transept, West. This was set up as a monument of the king's victory at a place now called Kurkh, on the right bank of the Tigris, a few miles south of Diarbakr. Near it was found the similar stele of Shalmaneser III, now standing beside it.

118894. Head of a winged bull made of yellow limestone, from a doorway in the N.W. palace at Nimrûd ; *Mon.*, I, 4. See Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, I, 128, and p. 20, above.

118895. Lion in natural form, from one side of the entrance to a small temple at Nimrûd ; pl. III, *Mon.*, II, 2. See p. 13.

118906. Fragment showing the siege of a city, with defenders shooting from the walls and one of the besieging Assyrians cutting off the bucket by which the besieged drew up water—the well-pulley is seen above ; partly illustrated in Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, II, 32.

118874. Small winged figure facing left, holding a branch ; *A.S.*, V (at side of bull).

118875. Small winged figure facing left, with cone and bucket ; *A.S.*, V (at side of bull).

118872. Winged human-headed bull, from a doorway ; *Mon.*, I, 4 ; *A.S.*, V. See p. 13.

118871. Small statue of Ashur-naṣir-pal, holding a mace and a curved, toothed weapon, standing upon its original pedestal ; pl. IV, *Mon.*, II, 52 ; *A.S.*, I. See pp. 15, 17, 21. *Assyrian Basement (north end).*

118926. Fragment, head of Ashur-naṣir-pal.

118927. Fragment, head of an attendant, with fly-whisk.

118928. Fragment, upper part of the king facing left, holding a bowl, followed by an attendant with mace in the right hand and bow over left shoulder.

118929. Head and shoulders of a human-headed figure, winged, and wearing horned cap, facing left, and holding up the cone.

118930. Upper part of a man with the dress and appearance, and holding up his hands in the gesture, of the first figure on the relief of the monkeys (Nimrûd Gallery, 19).

(*East wall.*)

118921. Winged eagle-headed figure with cone and bucket, facing left.

118922. Similar figure, facing right.

98061. Small winged human-headed figure, facing right, kneeling beside the "sacred tree."

98060. Small winged eagle-headed figure, standing, facing right.

98062. Similar to 98061, but facing left.

124917. Upper part of two beardless figures with crossed hands, in attendance upon the king.

(*External walls of staircase.*)

98064. Winged eagle-headed figure standing, facing right.

102487. Similar figure, standing before "sacred tree," facing right, with inscription above; *A.S.*, XXXVIII, 2.

98063. Winged human-headed figure standing before "sacred tree," facing right.

SHALMANESER III, 859-824 B.C.

Nimrûd Central Saloon.

118885. The Black Obelisk, a monolith sculptured on all four sides with figures in five panels on each side and inscribed with a summary of the king's campaigns. Each row of sculptures, horizontally, represents the bringing of tribute to the king by the rulers of conquered lands, and above each row is an inscription giving the name of the ruler whose tribute is represented below. The second row from the top depicts the submission and tribute of Jehu, King of Israel, who appears on the front of the obelisk making obeisance before Shalmaneser; pl. II, *Mon.*, I, 53-56. See pp. 11, 17, 20.

118884. Round-topped stele showing the king making a gesture of worship towards the emblems of various gods. This stele was found at Kurkh, together with that of Ashur-naṣir-pal which stands beside it; see above, pp. 11, 60.

118886. Headless seated statue of Shalmaneser, with a mutilated inscription giving a short summary of his conquests,

and referring to the placing of this statue in the city of Ashur, among the ruins of which it was found; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, II, 52; Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, III, pl. II. See pp. II, 15, 20.

SHAMSHI-ADAD V, 824-810 B.C.

Nimrūd Central Saloon.

118892. Round-topped stele, a monolith from which the lower part or pedestal has been cut away. The king is represented in the same attitude as Ashur-naṣir-pal and Shalmaneser on their similar monuments. A long inscription, in characters of archaistic form, relates the domestic and foreign history of the king's reign; H. Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, opp. p. 14. See p. II.

ADAD-NIRARI III, 810-782 B.C.

Nimrūd Central Saloon.

118888, 118889. Two statues of the god Nabu, found in a building at the S.E. corner of the Nimrūd mound, together with two similar statues holding square receptacles in their hands. The inscription shows that they were dedicated by Bêl-tarṣi-iluma on behalf of the king and of his mother Sammu-ramat (Semiramis); H. Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, opp. p. 12. See pp. II, 15, 20.

TIGLATH-PILESER III, 745-727 B.C.

Nimrūd Central Saloon.

118878. Assyrian horsemen pursuing a man riding upon a camel. On the ground are the bodies of prostrate enemies; *Mon.*, I, 57.

118879. Head of a winged bull, in relief; *Mon.*, I, 95a, No. 8.

118880. Four prisoners with hands bound who follow towards the left an Assyrian officer with his left arm raised; Unger, *Die Reliefs Tiglatpilesars III aus Nimrud*, Tafel VI, 12.

118881. Three lines of sheep and goats being driven away after capture from the enemy. On the right are traces of the figure driving them; *Mon.*, I, 60.

118882. A captured city, battering-rams standing beside the walls, the inhabitants leaving in bullock-carts, the spoil

being registered by scribes, and cattle driven away by the captors; *Mon.*, I, 58 (in part); Unger, *op. cit.*, Tafel VI, 2, 3. See p. 23.

118899. Upper part of the figure of a royal attendant, facing right, with bow over his left shoulder and quiver under his left arm.

118900. Upper part of the figure of Tiglath-pileser, with staff in his right hand.

118901. Woman carrying a pointed vase, advancing left, followed by four camels, part of the spoil of a captured city; *Mon.*, I, 61.

118902. Siege of a city which is attacked by a siege-engine run up on a mound against the wall. In the background an Assyrian spears an enemy, and a palm tree is falling; Unger, *op. cit.*, Tafel IV, 13. See p. 39.

118903. A siege-engine assailing the wall of a city that stands on a hill, archers in pointed helmets shooting from behind tall shields, and in the background, prisoners impaled before the walls; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, II, 369; Unger, *op. cit.*, Tafel II, 11. See pp. 25, 41.

118904. Two archers shooting from behind a tall shield supported by a third man. On the left is the extremity of a city wall, outside of which grow three trees, two of them palms standing in water; *Mon.*, I, 94 (part only).

118905. Horseman wearing a helmet with a peculiar crest, whose horse is rearing when wounded by the spears of pursuing cavalry; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, II, 28. See p. 38.

118907. Assyrian cavalry riding down the enemy. Behind them flies a bird of prey carrying human entrails in its claws; *Mon.*, I, 64. See p. 36.

118908. In the register above, evacuation of the city which is named, in the inscription above, Astartu. Below, Tiglath-pileser in his chariot, with two grooms leading the horses; pl. VIII, the lower relief is illustrated partly in Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 619. See p. 27.

Assyrian Saloon.

118934. Assault of a city by the Assyrian army; in the upper register, on the right, demolition of the wall; in the middle, attack upon the gates and driving away of spoil. In

13. Foot-soldiers and dismounted horsemen, behind the wheel of a chariot which the first man grasps ; *P.S.*, 96, 97 (13).

14. Soldiers leading pairs of horses ; *P.S.*, 96, 97 (14).

15-17. Men and women prisoners, and a bullock-cart, from a captured city, being brought by Assyrian soldiers before two scribes who stand on the left making a list of human heads and of captured weapons, vessels and furniture ; *P.S.*, 94, 95.

18, 19. Horses belonging to the royal chariot on the right. In front of them stand two grooms, and in front again five shield and spear men advancing to the left. Above are seen feet of men in a higher register.

20-22. Above, a line of spearmen advancing to the right ; below, a line of spearmen and cavalry, advancing similarly, between a river on one side and a line of low trees and vines on the other. On the right of the lower register archers and slingers are beginning the action against a hostile city. This is a part of the subject represented on Nos. 23-26.

23-26. Siege by the Assyrians of a city built upon a steep hill above a stream, on the banks of which grow low trees and vines. A fragmentary inscription at the top shows that the name of the city was . . . alammu. To the left of the hill Assyrian archers have gained possession of an outwork ; *Mon.*, II, 39. See pp. 39, 41.

27, 28. Return of the army from the siege of the above (Nos. 23-26) city, with heads of the slain and prisoners ; *P.S.*, 98 (27-28).

29. Fragment of a continuation of the preceding scene, part of the same series of sculptures as Nos. 20-28 ; *P.S.*, 98 (29).

30. Fragment representing slingers, and an archer shooting from behind a tall shield. Underneath is placed a different fragment ; *P.S.*, 98 (30).

31-32. Casts of two horsemen ; *ibidem* ; Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, II, 360.

33. Human figure of a guardian, holding a spear with a broad point. This was one of four which stood by the side of winged bulls at an entry ; *Mon.*, II, 6.

36-40. A line of five horses without trappings, being led

away by grooms, the head-groom, or officer in command, being shown on No. 39. These slabs were selected from a longer series, fourteen horses in all, which lined one wall of a descending passage, the other side being occupied by the slabs (41-43) sculptured with the ascending figures of servants bringing in the materials of a banquet ; *Mon.*, II, 7.

41-43. A line of servants ascending a passage, bringing into the palace baskets and trays of grapes, pomegranates, and dates, hares, birds, dried locusts on sticks, and jars of wine crowned with flowers. For the complete series from which these were selected, see *Mon.*, II, 8, 9.

44. Stele of Sennacherib ; the king in an attitude of worship before divine symbols. The inscription relates to his buildings ; *P.S.*, 4. See p. 15.

51, 52. Landing a great stone human-headed bull from a raft on the river, whence it is dragged on a sledge by gangs of slaves to be set up in one of the gates of the king's new palace at Nineveh. On the left the king superintends the work from the top of a mound, standing in his hand-drawn chariot. Below him are officers commanding the gangs, and at the bottom men are raising water from the river in buckets hung from a counterpoised arm which revolves on a brick column. To the right, men are carrying earth in baskets to build a mound. The background is occupied by guards and a wooded landscape ; *Mon.*, II, 15.

53. Scene at the building of Sennacherib's palace in Nineveh ; on either side gangs of slaves in continuous lines are carrying baskets of earth, and emptying them to heap up the great platform upon which the palace stood ; *Mon.*, II, 14.

54. Fragment of a scene similar to 51, 52 : gangs of slaves hauling a sledge from the river to the palace. On the right are seen the logs over which the sledge is to move, and at the top is a river or canal full of fish, upon which float a log-raft and two round coracles ; *P.S.*, 24.

55. A great stone human-headed bull lying on a sledge, being propelled forward by a lever under the back of the sledge and hauled along by ropes. Foremen mounted on the statue give the time to the gangs, hand-carts are drawn along laden with logs and ropes, and at the top is again seen the river, with round coracles and men floating on inflated skins ; *Mon.*, II, 12b.

56. Sennacherib standing up in his hand-drawn chariot, with many courtiers in attendance, supervising the work upon his new palace. Above are dense reed thickets, among which various animals, including a sow and her pigs, are moving. The epigraph refers to the making of the bull-colossi at a place called Balat, whence they were brought to Nineveh; *Mon.*, II, 12a.

57-59. On the nearer side of a river teeming with fish, the king in his chariot receives the prisoners and spoil of a captured city, which are registered by scribes in his presence. On the farther bank is seen the city, standing on an island, from which bullock-carts, cattle, and prisoners are being driven away; *Mon.*, II, 42; *P.S.*, 40-43.

60. Lion-headed figure raising a dagger, guardian of an entrance; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, opp. p. 104; *P.S.*, 86.

Assyrian Saloon (gallery, west wall).

124900. Officer with staff erect in his right hand, followed and preceded by others with swords in their girdles.

124901. Two soldiers of the royal guard, the first an archer, the second armed with spear and round shield; *P.S.*, 99.

124902, 124903. Part of a scene in three registers: at the top prisoners, men and women, moving towards the right under guard of Assyrian soldiers, who also bring heads to be registered by two scribes. In the middle another line of prisoners, with women and children, move towards an Assyrian detachment; the men wear cloaks of animal's skin. In the lowest register a number of cavalrymen stand beside their horses, near some low shrubs in rocky ground; *Mon.*, II, 19.

124904-124915. A long series of slabs, from a single room in Sennacherib's palace, representing his capture of the city of Lachish in S. Palestine. On the extreme left the army is seen advancing against the city, which is then assaulted by siege-engines advancing by log-roads up the mounds cast against the walls; the besieged attempt to burn them by throwing lighted torches. On the other side of the city are seen the prisoners carried away, with spoil loaded on bullock-carts and camels. Two prisoners are stretched prostrate on the ground to be flayed or tortured. Further to the right (124911), Sennacherib is enthroned with his attendants, receiving the

prisoners and spoil. An inscription before him reads, "Sennacherib, king of all, king of Assyria, sat in his armchair, and the spoil of Lachish passed before him." Behind him is the royal tent, designated by another inscription just above it. The royal chariot, with sunshade, is just below, and on the extreme right is a fortified enclosure containing other tents; pl. VI, *Mon.*, II, 20-24; *P.S.*, 68-76. See pp. 23, 38 f., 42 f.

(Facing entrance.)

118932. Two very large figures in high relief representing divine guardians of an entrance. The first wears a horned cap and holds up one arm, the second is lion-headed and bears a mace and a dagger, which he brandishes; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 462, (opposite sculpture). See p. 50.

Assyrian Basement (west wall).

124953-124960. A series of slabs representing the booty from a captured city in S. Babylonia. The scenes are preserved mostly in two, but sometimes in three, registers. On the left are seen humped oxen, a cart laden with furniture, captured women and children, and registration by scribes. In the middle (124955, 124956) a fire is burning, over which the soldiers are cooking meat, and below two more scribes stand before a pile of captured property. The remainder of the series is occupied by lines of Assyrian foot and horse soldiers; *Mon.*, II, 35-36 (in part); *P.S.*, 53-58. See pp. 22, 37 f.

124952. Cavalry chasing the enemy up and down steep slopes covered with low shrubs. Above, a line of prisoners; *Mon.*, II, 37 (lower right corner).

124950. Upper part of a soldier of the royal bodyguard, with spear and round shield.

124949. Heads of two archer-guards, similar to the following.

124951. Two archers of the king's bodyguard; H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*, XXXVIII, 1.

124948. Two pairs of musicians in a royal procession, playing upon harps with fingers and plectrum. The nearer one wears a very tall hat in the form of a fish-tail; Hall, *ibidem*, 2. See p. 49.

124947. Three musicians playing upon lyres, apparently

captives in charge of an Assyrian soldier who walks behind them; G. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, I. p. 540. See p. 49.

Assyrian Room.

102072. Fisherman, with a creel on his back, catching fish with a line in a rocky pool out of which runs a stream; *Mon.*, I, 67B.

ESARHADDON, 681-669 B.C.

Nimrûd Central Saloon.

118893. Head of a winged bull, from the S.W. Palace at Nimrûd; J. Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 336, fig. 176. See p. 20.

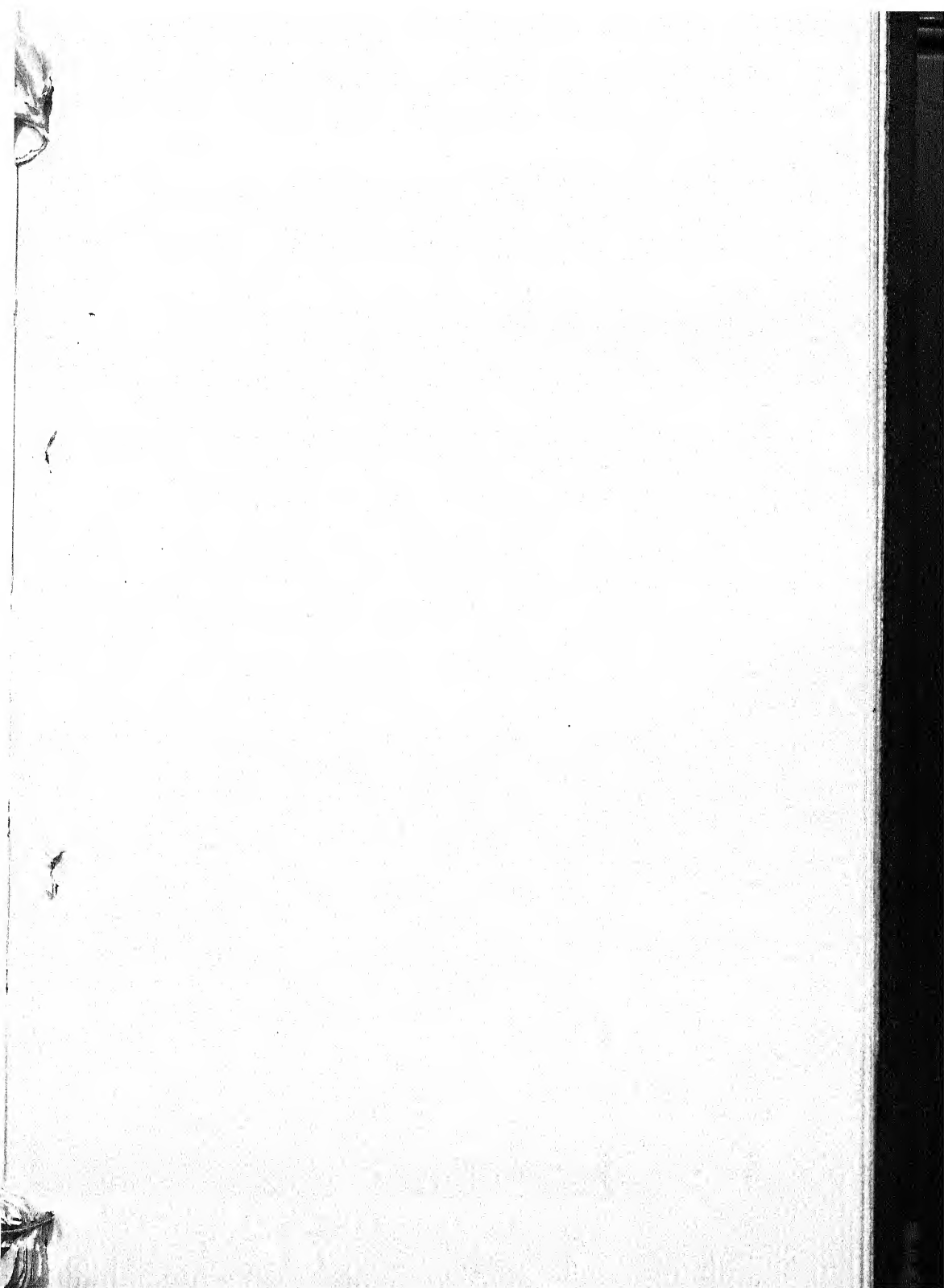
Kuyûnjik Gallery.

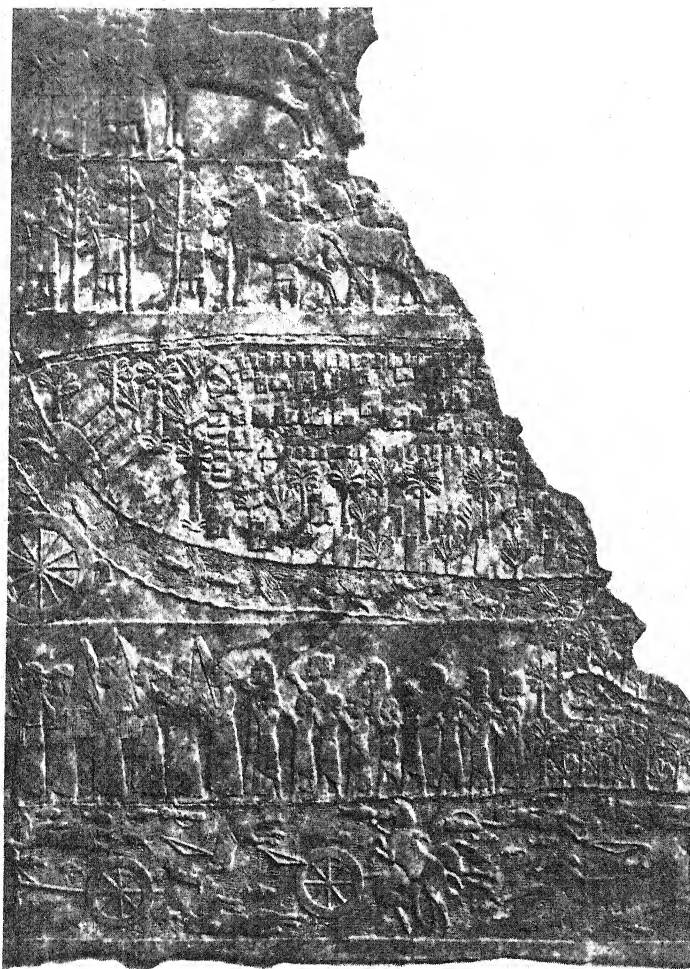
1. Cast of a figure of Esarhaddon, sculptured in the rock at the mouth of the Nahr al-Kalb, in Syria.

ASHUR-BANI-PAL, 668-626 B.C.

Kuyûnjik Gallery (east wall).

45-50. Several portions, large and small, of fossiliferous limestone slabs which occupied a room in the palace of Sennacherib, though the sculptures belong to the reign of his grandson, Ashur-bani-pal. They depict in detail his great battle at the river Eulæus, in which he defeated the Elamite king Te-umman, and subsequently captured his royal city of Susa. The scenes are arranged in several registers, as many as seven being preserved on slab 48. At the extreme left the Elamites are being driven down a steep hill; in the third register upwards there is an enclosure in which many Elamites are being beheaded, and to the left of this a soldier driving furiously in an Elamite cart carries a severed head. Above, an inscription, partly broken, reads, "The head of Te-umman, king of Elam, which they had cut off in the midst of the battle, the common soldiers of my army brought swiftly to Assyria to tell the glad tidings." In the middle of slab 46 an Elamite prince lies wounded on the ground calling to an Assyrian soldier; over him is the inscription, "Urtaku, the son-in-law of Te-umman, who was smitten with an arrow, but had not given up the ghost. He called to an Assyrian to cut off his head, saying, 'Come, cut off my head and bear it before the king thy lord





Scene from the sculptures of Ashur-bani-pal, found in the South-West Palace at Kuyûnjik. In the middle is the city of Madaktu, surrounded by canals ; below, a band of Elamite musicians, and, at the bottom, corpses and equipment of the enemy borne away by the river.

and win an honoured name.' ” Farther to the right (slab 47) is seen the last stand of Te-umman, with an inscription in three lines, “ Te-umman in despair said unto his son ‘ Shoot with the bow,’ ” and, hard by, two figures are struck down and beheaded. “ Te-umman, king of Elam, who was smitten in the fierce battle—Tamritu, his eldest son, grasped his hands, and to save their lives they fled and hid themselves amid a wood. With the help of Ashur and Ishtar I slew them and cut off their heads over against each other.” On slabs 48–50 are scenes that followed the battle ; in the upper left corner two rebels are pegged face downwards to the ground for torture, “. . . and . . . [the names are not filled in] who against the god Ashur my creator had spoken great blasphemy. I tore out their tongues and flayed off their skins.” Below, on slab 49, an Assyrian general presents as their king to the Elamites (who meet him with prostrate humility, accompanied by a band of musicians) the refugee prince Ummanigash, who had thrown himself upon Assyrian protection ; the accompanying inscription describes this. On the extreme right is the city of Madaktu (pl. XVII), surrounded by water. Above this is another scene ; Ashur-bani-pal standing in his chariot receives the two envoys of Rusa, king of Armenia, who, daunted by the might of Assyria, had sent them to the city of Arbela to convey his homage. After this the inscription above the chariot adds “ Nabu-damīk and Umbadara, the Elamite officers, I set before them with the tablet containing the insolent message ”—these men can be seen standing in front of the royal grooms, facing the envoys, and holding a tablet in their hands.

Nos. 45*a*–*f*, 46*a* and 47*a* are all detached fragments of the Elamite battle sculpture.

Mon., II, 45–49 ; *P.S.*, 62–66. See pp. 6, 20, 22 *f.*, 29, 38, 49. (*West wall of Gallery.*)

34. Ummanaldash, king of Elam, being transported in a chariot to Assyria after his capture by the officers of Ashur-bani-pal, as was related in the fragmentary inscription ; *P.S.*, 67.

35. Elamite princes, accompanied by Assyrian servitors, compelled to bring in food to Ashur-bani-pal's table ; *P.S.*, 67.

26*a*. An Assyrian soldier, standing behind a great shield,

on guard over a number of seated prisoners who are cooking food at a fire burning in the middle.

20a. Fragment, beardless man with a spear, facing left ; to the right a smaller figure with a staff under his arm. (Probably of the reign of Ashur-bani-pal).

(*Assyrian Saloon (Gallery, east wall).*)

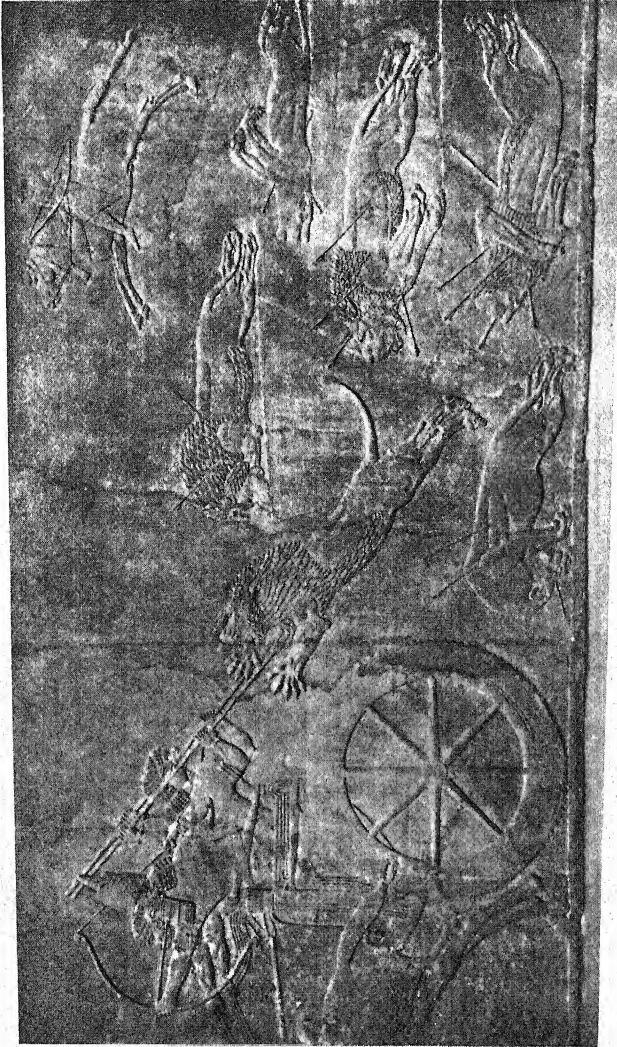
124850-124870. Lion-hunt sculptures of Ashur-bani-pal, from a hall in the northern palace at Kuyûnjik. In these are depicted the royal sport as it was pursued in an arena outside Nineveh. The enclosure is kept by a double line of spearmen and archers (slabs 124862, 124863, 124870), in front of whom stand at intervals other servants holding massive hounds in leash. On slabs 124858-124861 is seen the preparation of the king in his chariot, his horses being put to, and his weapons handed to him. All of this takes place behind screens (slab 124859) supported on poles by servants. When the king is ready he drives out into the arena and comes in view of the public, which is seen occupying a "stand" (slab 124862), a mound shaded with trees into which men climb to view the sport, and crowned by a stele with a miniature representation of a hunting-scene. The lions are brought to the spot in wooden cages (slab 124869), and are let out by a man standing above in a stoutly-protected hut, the whole cage being fixed to the ground with a peg. The various incidents of the hunt and the attitudes of the charging or wounded lions are portrayed with great faithfulness and vigour. Parts of this series have been often reproduced, e.g. pl. XVIII, Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures*, XXXVI-XLI; H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*, XLVII-LI. See pp. 22, 24, 34, 46 f.

(*South wall.*)

124871. Catching deer in nets; V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, III, pl. 56, 1. See p. 45.

124872. The king kneeling, shooting from behind cover; a servant handing him arrows; *ibidem*.

124873-124882. Hunting scenes in three registers; at the bottom, to the left, is a herd of gazelles being driven in by a huntsman towards the royal shooting party, whose arrows are discharged from cover. Behind this huntsman the king



Relief from the North Palace of Ashur-bani-pal at Kuyunjik, part of a series of slabs which depict the king fighting lions from his chariot, in an arena outside Nineveh.

[Assyrian Saloon, 124867.]

(See p. 72.)



rides with his mounted attendants in pursuit of wild asses, which are wounded by his arrows, and also overtaken and dragged down by his hounds, in the charge of huntsmen. In the middle register, the king encounters a lion on horseback, or stands over the bodies of lions which his servants lay before him. At the top are combats with the lion on foot ; the king shoots the advancing beast with his arrows, and finally pierces him with a sword ; the lion is seen again (124877) being let out of a cage. Parts of this series have been frequently illustrated, e.g., Place, *op. cit.*, III, 50 bis, 53, 54, 56 ; Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures*, LVII, LVIII. See pp. 44 f.

124883. Fragment, a roaring lion in a cage.

124884. Scenes in two registers. Servants preparing and stringing the king's bow : at the left a man carries the arm-guard and finger-guard for the king to wear when shooting.

124885. Fragment showing servants bearing a dead lion on their shoulders.

(*West wall.*)

124886, 124887. Hunting scenes in three registers—above, the king and an officer fighting lions on foot, with bow and spear, as they emerge from a cage. In the second register the king seizes a lion by its tail and smashes its skull, a feat commemorated in the accompanying lines of inscription. At the bottom the king pours a libation over the bodies of four dead lions, to the accompaniment of music ; this also is recorded in an inscription. To the left, servants are carrying in more carcases ; pl. XII, Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures*, XXXIV f. See pp. 44 f., 48.

124888–124892. Soldiers of the guard, armed with spears and round shields, escorting servants who carry birds and small game, and are preceded by three groups of men carrying carcases of lions ; V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, III, 52 bis, 2 (partly). See p. 45.

124893–124899. The hunt servants leading hounds, carrying nets, stakes and cords, and driving sumpter mules laden with equipment ; Place, *ibidem*, No. 3 ; H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*, LIV, 2. See p. 45.

(*West side of vestibule.*)

118913. Corner of an elaborately carved pavement slab ; P.S., 102 (2). See p. 12.

118916. Two harpists playing on different kinds of instrument, passing beneath palms and cypresses bearing vines. A tamed lion walks beside the second figure. See p. 44.

118914. A lioness and lion in a "zoological garden," lying in the shade of trees; Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, III, 52 bis, 1. See p. 44.

118915. Hunt attendants leading hounds under trees; Schäfer-Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, 533 (1).

118917, 118918. Two groups of apotropaic figures, from either side of an entrance; Hall, *op. cit.*, XXXVI, 1a. See pp. 28, 50.

(East side of vestibule.)

118912. Relief in two registers, above, two pairs of lion-headed monsters contending; below, a lion-man; Hall, *op. cit.*, XXXVI, 1b. See pp. 14, 50.

118911. Two lion-headed monsters contending. These, and the preceding, are all apotropaic figures. See pp. 28, 50.

118910. Corner of an elaborately-carved pavement slab; Hall, *op. cit.*, LVI. See pp. 12 f.

(North wall of basement, above.)

124962. Large pavement slab, with double border and elaborate quatrefoil pattern in the middle; the pattern is shown in G. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, I, 279. See p. 12.

Assyrian Basement (east wall).

124916. Fragment in two registers—attendants bringing in animals and jars of wine to furnish a royal banquet.

124918. Three apotropaic human figures, facing right, with daggers in their girdles and brandishing axes; Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*, LV, 2. See pp. 50 f.

124919. Relief in four registers—at the top an Elamite chariot, and men on foot; below, the plunder, demolition and burning of "Khamanu, a royal city of Elam," as it is called in the accompanying epigraph. At the bottom of the slab are shown Elamite prisoners taking their meal under the guard of Assyrian soldiers armed with spears and tall shields; Hall, *op. cit.*, XLIV. See pp. 38 f.

124921. Fragment representing servants bringing in a dead lion, after a hunt.

124920. Ashur-bani-pal reclining upon a couch, with his queen seated beside him, eating and drinking in a garden, attended by servants bringing food and by musicians with a harp and cone-shaped drum. Hanging on a branch of a tree before the king is a severed head, probably that of Te-umman, king of Elam; H. Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, pp. 38, 40. See p. 49.

124922. Relief in three registers: above, musicians with two kinds of harps and a double flute play before a bowl and a great jar set on a stand, behind which are two officers who carry double wands and stand in front of a screen supported by poles. In the middle register are two similar figures at the edge of a plantation. Underneath is a wild boar moving through a thicket of reeds. Some of these figures are illustrated in G. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, I, pp. 533, 543.

124923. Fragment in two registers—above, musicians in fish-tailed hats (compare 124948 on opposite wall) meet a line of spearmen. Below, soldiers wearing feathered head-dresses; Hall, *op. cit.*, XXXIX, 3. See pp. 38, 49.

124924. A line of Assyrian archers marching towards the right on the bank of a stream; they wear feathered head-dresses. Underneath, fragment of an inscription; Hall, *op. cit.*, XXXIX, 2. See p. 38.

124925-124927. Incidents in Ashur-bani-pal's expedition against the Arabs. The first two show the Assyrian army, with chariots, horse and foot, falling upon the Arabs, who seek to escape on their camels, shooting backwards as they flee. 124927 represents the surprise of a sleeping Arab encampment by the Assyrians; Hall, *op. cit.*, XLVI (partly).

124928. Capture of a city in Egypt, from which prisoners of Ethiopian appearance are being led forth; Hall, *op. cit.* XL. See pp. 26, 39, 41.

(South wall.)

124929-124937. The whole of this wall, and a corner of the east wall, is occupied by a series of slabs in several registers, showing the reception by Ashur-bani-pal of prisoners and spoil from the city of Khamanu in Elam (which also appears on 124919 above). The Elamites can be seen in flight or in hiding among the crops of tall millet.

(*West wall.*)

124938. Flight of the Elamite army past a great city with multiple circuits of walls and a canal in front, probably Babylon itself ; Hall, *op. cit.*, XLII. See p. 39.

124939, 124940. Reliefs in four registers : the Elamite army in flight, with chariots, horse and foot, past a wooded mound upon which stands a columned pavilion, with a royal stele and an altar before it. The mound is watered by streams fed with water which issues from an arched aqueduct on the right ; Hall, *op. cit.*, XLIII. See p. 16.

124941. An Assyrian soldier about to cut off the head of an Elamite officer who is destroying his bow. The accompanying inscription reads, "Ituni, the general of Te-umman king of Elam, whom he had impudently sent before me, saw the mighty battle and with the iron dagger of his girdle his own hands cut the bow, the glory of his arms."

124942-124944. Corners of ornamental pavement slabs, with round openings in which the door-posts turned. See p. 16.

124945, 124946. Part of a series of reliefs depicting the triumph of Ashur-bani-pal over Shamash-shum-ukin, king of Babylon, his "faithless brother" who had rebelled against the overlordship of Assyria. The inscription in nine lines which stands above the king's horses enumerates the spoil of Babylon which passed before him, including the royal chariots and horses, the king's concubines and his generals. All of these are here represented—the generals, four of whom stand before the royal chariot in attitudes of submission, are headed by an Elamite prince wearing a round turban ; pl. IX (partly). See pp. 27, 34.

INDEX OF SCULPTURES BY GALLERIES.

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